

A CRITICAL STUDY OF
PRIMITIVE LITURGIES

BY
K. N. DANIEL.

KOTTAYAM
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1937

PREFACE

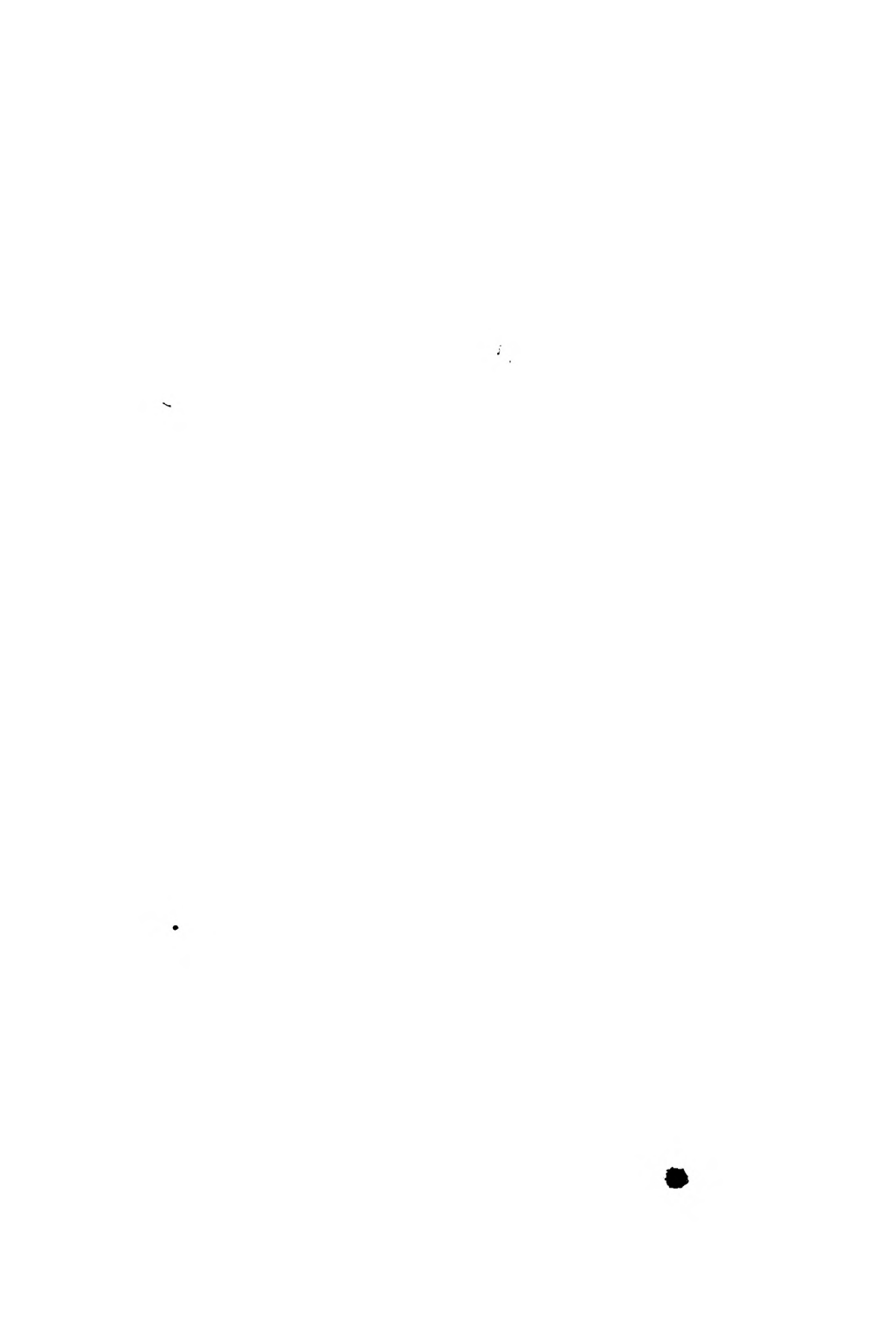
This is almost a new line of study in liturgiology. In this line there is a vast field for research. My research was mainly confined to the Jacobite liturgy of St. James. I hope eminent liturgists will undertake laborious research in this line and enlighten the students of liturgiology.

I must offer my heartfelt thanks to the Most Rev. Paulos Mar Athanasius, Metropolitan of Malabar, and the Most Rev. Augen Mar Timotheus, Metropolitan of the Kandanad Diocese, the Rev. M. T. Abraham Malpan, the Rev. Konattu Abraham Malpan, and the Rev. C. J. Zacharia Malpan. It is only through the magnanimous help of these gentlemen as well as of many other Jacobite divines that I succeeded in making this research. Further, my thanks are due to His Excellency Moran Mar Peter, the Uniat Patriarch of Antioch, the Most Rev. Abinnelech Mar Timotheus, the Chaldean Metropolitan of Trichur, the Rev. E. Marmura, C. M. S. Missionary in Jerusalem, and the Rev. T. G. Stuart Smith, C. M. S. Missionary in Travancore.

*Tiruvalla, Travancore,
South India.*

8th November, 1937.

K. N. Daniel.



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- In the Royal Court of Final Appeal, Case No. III of 1061 M.E. Vols. I, III. The records of a case in the supreme court of Travancore between the Jacobite Church and the Mar Thoma Church.
- The writings of the Apostolic Fathers. Ante-Nicene Christian Library.
- The writings of Justin Martyr and Athanagoras. Ante-Nicene Christian Library.
- Writings of Irenaeus. Ante-Nicene Christian Library.
- Tertullian against Marcion. Ante-Nicene Christian Library.
- The Catechetical Lectures of St. Cyril.
- Select Writings and Letters of St. Gregory. Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Vol. XIII.
- The Cambridge Handbook of Liturgical Study.
- Early History of Liturgy : by the Rev. J. H. Srawley.
- The Lesser Eastern Churches : by Dr. Adrian Fortescue. Catholic Truth Society, 1913.
- Bishop Sarapian's Prayer Book: an Egyptian Sacramentary dated probably about A. D. 350—356, with introduction etc. by John Wordsworth, D. D., Bishop of Salisbury, S. P. C. K., 1915.
- The Nestorians and Their Rituals: by the Rev. G. P. Badger Vol. II, Joseph Masters, London, 1852.
- Liturgies and Offices of the Church: by E. Burbridge, M. A.
- Ancient Church Order: by Dr. A. J. Maclean, D. D., Bishop of Moray, Ross & Caithness.
- Recent Discoveries illustrating Early Christian Life and Worship: by Dr. A. J. Maclean, D. D.
- The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai : by Dom R. H. Connolly M. A., with an Appendix by Edmund Bishop. Cambridge University Press, London, 1909.

ܠܝܬܘܪܝܐ ܕܡܪܝ

The Liturgy of the Church of the East, printed and published by the Rev. Joseph E. Y. De Kelaïta, 1928. This contains the Chaldean Liturgy of Addai and Mari and those of Theodore and Nestorius, in Syriac.

Missale Chaldaicum Ex Decreto sacræ congregationis De Propaganda Fide editum Romæ. This is the Chaldean Uniats' Liturgy of Addai and Mari in Syriac.

The Liturgy of the Holy Apostles Addai and Mari together with two additional Liturgies to be said on certain fasts and other days, and the Order of Baptism collated from many manuscripts, from various places. The original was printed at Umi at the Press of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission, 1890.

Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, Vols. V, VII.

Chambers's Encyclopædia, Vol. VI

Catholic Encyclopædia, Vol. IX.

Encyclopædia Britannica, 14th edition, Vol. XIX.

ܡܝܣܝܐ ܕܡܠܒܐܪ ܕܝܡܠܐܒܐܪ

The Liturgy of the Romo-Syrians of Malabar in Syriac: printed at the Jubilee Memorial Press, Mangalapuzha Seminary, Alwaye, 1930.

The Syriac Mass. Translated by the Rev. John Palocaran, B. A., St. Joseph's Industrial Press, Trichinopoly, 1917. This is a translation of the above. The translator is the Principal of the St. Thomas' College, Trichur.

The Latin Mass, translated by the Rev. Fr. Michal: The Industrial School Press, Ernakulam, 1916.

ܕܡܝܣܝܐ ܕܡܠܒܐܪ ܕܝܡܠܐܒܐܪ ܕܡܝܣܝܐ ܕܡܠܒܐܪ ܕܝܡܠܐܒܐܪ

A Commentary of the Liturgy: by Moses Bar Kepha, Bishop of Mosul, 10th century. I examined four manuscripts belonging to the following gentlemen;

1. The Rev Abraham Malpan Konattu,* Pampakkuda.
2. The Rev Abraham Cathanar, Maretu, Kallooppara.
3. The Rev. Isaac Cathanar, Patiyattil, Kuruppumpadi.
4. The Very Rev. Paulos Ramban, Syrian Seminary,
Alwaye

. ;സ്വയം അഭ്യസ്ത; പ്രാമ; പ്രാമ

A Commentary of the Liturgy: by Mar Dionysius Bar Salib, Bishop of Amid, 12th century. Printed in Estrangelo script. Dionysius Bar Salib Expositio Liturgiæ. Parisiis E. Typographieo Republicæ. Carolus Pousielgue, Bibliopola 15, Rue Cassette, 15. Lipsiæ: Otto Harrassowitz. MDCCCIII.

The Mass, a Study of the Roman Liturgy: by Dr. Adrian Fortescue. Longmans Green & Co., 1922.

Christian Worship : by Mgr. L. Duchesne S.P.C.K., London,
1927.

History of the Catholic Church : by Dr. H. Brueck. Vol. II.
Third Edition. Benziger Brothers.

Liturgy and Ritual of the Ante-Nicene Church: by F. E. Warren, B. D., F. S. A., London. S. P. C. K., 1912.

A Homily of Mar Jacob of Serugh on the reception of the
Hcly Mysteries: translated by Dom Hugh Connolly,
O. S. B., Downside Review, November, 1908.

The Book of Prayer and Order of Service : with an English translation based principally on the work of the Late Rev. D. A. De Sola. Edited and revised by The Rev. The Haham Moses Gaster, Ph. D., Chief Rabbi of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews' congregations. Vol. I. Daily and Occasional Prayers. Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press, Warehouse, Amen Corner, London, 5661-1901.

Ibid Vol. V. The Order of Service for the Feast of Passover and the Feast of Weeks. Henry Frowde. Oxford University Press, Warehouse, Amen Corner, London. 5666-1906.

* Malpan means a teacher. A priest who is a teacher of theology and Syriac is a malpan. There was a long line of malpans in the family of Konattu, who were famous for their scholarship in Syriac.

Clementine Homilies and Apostolic Constitutions. Edinburgh.
T. and T. Clark, 1870.

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The Common Prayer of the Syrian Christians, printed at
Pampakkuda, 1915.

Selections from Early Writers: by H. M. Gwatkin, M. A.
London. Macmillan and Co., 1893.

Primitive Liturgies: by the Rev. J. M. Neale and the Rev.
R. F. Littledale. Seventh edition. London. Griffith
Farren & Co.

Jacobite Liturgy of St. James

Translations.

1. Liturgies Eastern and Western: by F. E. Brightman,
Oxford Clarendon Press. 1896. In this there is a
translation of the Jacobite "St. James" together with a
few other liturgies. In this translation he made use of
the MSS. of the Jacobite liturgy in the Bodleian Library
and in the British Museum Library and of Renaudot's
translation.
2. The Syrian Churches: by J. W. Etheridge. London.
Longmans, Green, Brown, Longmans, 1846. He has
given a translation of the St. James' Liturgy of the
Maronite Uniates of the Jacobite rite. They joined
the Roman Church during the 16th century, and their
liturgy was corrected according to the Roman faith.
This must be considered as a copy of the Jacobite
Liturgy, except in the points on which the Roman and
the Jacobite Churches differ. Etheridge has compared
it with a MS. which is now used by the Jacobites and
incorporated the differences in square brackets.
3. History of Christianity in India: by the Rev. J. Hough
Vol. IV. London. Seely, Burnside, and Seely; Hatchard
and Son; Nisbet and Co., 1845. This is compiled from
two copies. "One was procured", Hough says, "from
the Syrians by the late Bishop Middleton, of Calcutta,
in his visit to the Syrian Metran in Malabar, and
translated by the Rev. Dr. Mill, late Principal of
Bishop's College, Calcutta. The other was translated
by the Rev. Joseph Peet, Missionary of the Church
Missionary Society in Malabar, with the assistance of

competent Syriac scholars of the Syrian Church. Dr. Mill has obligingly revised the whole for the author of this History." (p. 619)

4. Christians of St. Thomas and their Liturgies : by the Rev. G. B. Howard. Oxford and London. John Henry and James Parker, 1864. He procured two MSS. from Malabar.
5. Madras Church Missionary Record, 1835 (Vol. II, No. II, pp. 162-171, Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 49-56, 65-70). A translation of the liturgy by Peet is given. This is incorporated in Hough's History (No. 3).
6. The Order of the Holy Qurbana. The liturgy of St. James: translated by the Most Rev. Mar Ivanios, Metropolitan of Bethany. Printed on the occasion of the visit of His Excellency the Viceroy to Trivandrum, December, 1929. Travancore Government Press.
7. Malayalam translation of the Liturgy: by the Rev. M. P. Pathros, B. A., B. D., L. T. and the Rev. Pulikkot Joseph.
7. a. The Prayer Book of the Jacobite Syrian Church of Malabar, including the Diakonika. Translated into Malayalam by the Very Rev. Konattu Mathan Malpan Kore-Episcopa.

Printed Syriac Books.

8. The Liturgy published by the late Joseph Mar Dionysius Metropolitan while he was a priest. Lithograph. The Form of Baptism also is given. This is the *editio princeps* of both the Orders of Eucharist and Baptism.

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9. The Liturgy printed at the Printing Press of Mar Julios in 1886. The Form of Baptism also is given.
10. The Second edition of the same in 1911, without the Form of Baptism.

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11. The Liturgy printed at the Mar Thoma Press, Kottayam in 1928. This is a mere copy of No. 10. Being published from the Press owned by the Jacobite

Church of Malabar, and being considered a standard among the Malabar Jacobites, it is to all practical purposes an official publication.

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12. The Liturgy of the Syrian Uniats under Moran Mar Ignatius, Patriarch of Antioch. First edition in 1843. Missale Syriacum Juxta Ritum Ecclesiæ Antiochenæ Syrorum Romæ Typis S. Congregationis De Propaganda Fide Anno MDCCCXLIII.
13. The Second edition in 1922.

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14. This Patriarch's Diakonika.

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ܠܬܠܡܝܕܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܡܪܝܢܐ ܡܪܝܢܐ ܡܪܝܢܐ ܡܪܝܢܐ

Diakonika: printed at the Mar Thoma Press, Kottayam.

Syriac Manuscripts.

Almost all of the divines named below are Jacobites. Take them for Jacobites, unless otherwise specified. Almost all are in Maronite script. Take them for Maronite script, unless otherwise specified.

19. The Liturgy used by the late Jacobite Patriarch Moran Mar Ignatius Abdulla. This was presented to the Rev. Vettikkunnel Kuryakos Cathanar, a prominent divine of that church, by the Most Rev. Mar Julios, the Patriarchal Delegate in Malabar. Excellent handwriting.
20. The Liturgy which His Excellency Moran Mar Pathros, Patriarch of Antioch (Maronite), kindly sent to me. No. 2 contains the English translation of this.
21. The Liturgy which the late Yoyakim Mar Curilos Metropolitan used. He was a native of Thurabdin, Syria, and the Metropolitan of the Jacobite Church in Malabar. This MS. does not contain the Pro-anaphora. This

is now with the Rev. Yoyakim Abib Cathanar, a grandson of the above Metropolitan's brother. Arabic translation in Syriac characters also is given.

22. Mar Curilos Metropolitan's autograph Liturgy, now in the possession of the Rev. Patiyattil Isaac Cathanar, Kuruppumpadi. This is not a copy of No. 21.
23. A similar autograph MS. of Mar Curilos is now with the Rev. Irailil Mathoo Cathanar, Paravoor.
24. The Diakonika in the handwriting of Mar Curilos, now in the possession of the Rev. Patiyattil Isaac Cathanar, Kuruppumpadi.
25. The Liturgy belonging to the Most Rev. Paulos Mar Athanasius Metropolitan.
26. A Diakonika belonging to him.
27. The Liturgy belonging to the Most Rev. Augen Mar Timothius Metropolitan.
28. Another copy belonging to him.
29. Another copy belonging to him, with the Form of Baptism.
30. Another copy belonging to him. There is no Pro-anaphora in this.
31. The Liturgy used by the late Mar Sevarios Metropolitan. Now in the possession of his nephew the Rev. Idavalikkal Lukos Cathanar.
32. The autograph Liturgy of the late Goevarughese Mar Gregorios Metropolitan, now in the possession of the Rev. Attumalil Skaria Cathanar.
33. The Liturgy copied from a MS. of this Bishop by the Rev. Thengunthottathil Philipose Cathanar. He is now a Roman Catholic. This is not a copy of No. 32.
34. The Liturgy used by the late Yoyakim Mar Ivanios, now in the possession of his nephew, the Rev. Karavattu Simon Cathanar.
38. The autograph liturgy of the late Idavalikkal Philipose Kor-Episcopa used by the late Thalathu Chandapilla Cathanar† (Mar Thoma), now in the possession of his son.

† It was the custom of the divines of the Mar Thoma Church to conduct the service with the Jacobite liturgy before them. They knew by heart the corrections introduced into it by their Church.

39. Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Konattu Abraham Malpan, with the Form of Baptism and Diakonika.
40. The Diakonika of his in the Chaldean script.
41. The Liturgy used by the late Philipose Ramban of Kayamkulam, now with Paruthimoottil Thomas Cathanar, with the Form of Baptism. Chaldean script.
42. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Thamarapallil Abraham Cathanar, Kallisery.
43. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Mattackal Alexander Malpan, Niranam.
44. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Panackamittathu Abraham Cathanar, Niranam, with the Form of Baptism.
45. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Pilanthoppil Jacob Cathanar, Paudalam, with the Form of Baptism.
46. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Talathu Abraham Cathanar, Ranni, with the Form of Baptism. Chaldean script.
47. The Liturgy belonging to the Very Rev. Purackal Joseph Kor-Episcopa, with the Form of Baptism. Chaldean script.
48. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Puthenveettil Jacob Cathanar, Thumpaman. Chaldean script. He is now a Roman Catholic.
49. His Diakonika. Chaldean script.
50. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Cheryamatathil Jacob Cathanar, Valur, with the Form of Baptism. Chaldean script. It was copied in the year 1767 A. D.
51. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Chackkittitathu Thomas Cathanar, Thumpaman, with the Form of Baptism.
52. The Liturgy used by the late Rev. Mannil Abraham Cathanar, Kattur, with the Form of Baptism. He was a Roman Catholic during the last days of his life.
53. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Ilavinamannil Scaria Cathanar, Omallur.
54. Another copy in his possession, with the Form of Baptism. Chaldean script.

55. The Liturgy used by the late Rev. Cheruvattur Mathu Cathanar, Kunnamkulam, with the Form of Baptism. Chaldean script.
56. Another copy of his. Chaldean script.
57. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Fr. Tolupaden, Kandanad.
58. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. T. J. Geevarughese Cathanar, Thumpaman.
59. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Eruthikkal Markos Cathanar, Kottayam.
60. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Alinkal Abraham Cathanar, Kandanad.
61. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Vatutala Easo Cathanar, Omallur, with the Form of Baptism.
62. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Perukavil Mathew Cathanar, Chengannoor.
63. The Liturgy used by the late Rev. Payyampallil David Cathanar, Mallapally, with the Form of Baptism.
64. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Chakkupurackal Punnoose Cathanar, Vakattanam. There is no St. James' liturgy in this. There is Pro-anaphora.
65. The Liturgy belonging to the Arapurakkal Geevarughese Cathanar, Kannankodu.
66. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Parackal George Cathanar, Ankamali. With the Form of Baptism.
67. Another copy in his possession. Chaldean script.
68. The Liturgy used by the late Rev. Cheeran Cathanar, Palanji.
69. The Liturgy attached to the Form of Ordination. Now with the Most Rev. Mar Curilos Metropolitan of Toliyoor. This was once used by the Bishop of Mosul, Syria. There are in it hundreds of names of newly ordained deacons, who marked the sign of the cross according to the custom. Further the name, Mar Thoma Metran, is written on it in old Malayalam characters. So it was once in the possession of the Pakalomattam Mar Thoma Metrans of the Church of Malabar.
70. The Liturgy attached to the Form of Ordination in the possession of the Most Rev. Mar Thoma Metropolitan

(Mar Thoma Syrian Church of Malabar). This is in the same handwriting as that of No. 69.

71. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Palliyamvilayil Varughese Kaseessa (Mar Thoma), Kundara. With the Form of Baptism.
72. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. C. A. Abraham Kaseesa (Mar Thoma), Kallisery. In this there is a note by the Jacobite Patriarch of Jerusalem, who visited the church of Kallisery in 1850 A. D., and a seal of a prelate who came from Syria.
73. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Tengil Mathai Kaseesa (Mar Thoma), Venmany. Chaldean script.
74. The Liturgy belonging to the Ayrookuliyl Joseph Kaseesa (Mar Thoma), Puthencavu. Chaldean script.
75. The Liturgy used by the late Rev. Peetikayil Stephanos Kaseesa, Mavelikara. With the Form of Baptism. During the latter part of his life he left the Jacobite church and joined the Mar Thoma church.
76. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. K. E. Jacob Kaseesa (Mar Thoma), Kallooppa. There is a note in it saying that it was copied in 1795 A. D. Excellent Handwriting.
77. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. M. V. Joseph Cathanar, Vicar of the church of Palanji of the Toliyoor Diocese. With the Form of Baptism.
78. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Olaseril Joseph Kaseesa (Mar Thoma), Kottayam. With the Form of Baptism.
79. The Liturgy owned by the late Kurichiyethu Purackal Geevarughese Kaseesa (Mar Thoma), Meppadam.
80. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Narakathu Paulos Cathanar, Kunnukkuridi. Chaldean script.
81. Another copy in his possession. Chaldean script.
82. The Liturgy belonging to the Very Rev. Chollambel John Kor-Episcopa, Vadakara. Chaldean script.
83. Another copy in his possession with the Form of Baptism. Chaldean script.
84. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Patiyattil Isaac Cathanar, Kuruppumpadi. Chaldean script.

85. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. M. T. Abraham Malpan, Kothamangalam.
86. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. T. K. George Cathanar, Vengola. With the Form of Baptism.
87. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Anikkaseril Paulos Cathanar, Kadamittam. With the Form of Baptism.
88. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Padinjarekkuttu Mathew Cathanar, Puthupally.
89. The Liturgy belonging to the Parish of Rackad, North Travancore.
90. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Teninkal Geevarughese Malpan, Kolenchery.
91. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Chalappurathu Geevarughese Cathanar, Mulamthuruthy. With the Form of Baptism.
92. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Kodiat Alexander Deacon, Tiruvalla.
93. The Liturgy used by the late Rev. Kilakkevilayil Idichandy Cathanar, Kundara.
93. (a) A Liturgy in the Chaldean script is also bound with the above.
94. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Tekkilakkattu Yoyakim Cathanar, Kothamangalam.
95. Another copy in his possession. Chaldean script.
96. His copy of Diakonika.
97. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Pulliattu Tukalan Skaria Cathanar, Puthenkurisu.
98. Another copy in his possession.
99. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Palakkattil Skaria Cathanar, Karingasira. With the Form of Baptism. Chaldean script.
100. Another copy in his possession. Chaldean script.
101. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Aviyottu Geevarughese Kasseesa (Mar Thoma) Kottarakkara, Chaldean script.
102. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Olickal Joseph Cathanar, Tirkkalathoor.

103. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Pukkunnel Joseph Cathanar, Moovattupula.
104. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Kurisinkal Mani Cathanar, Pallikkara. With the Form of Baptism. Chaldean script.
105. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Irumala Joseph Cathanar, Tirkkariyoor, Kottappady. Chaldean script.
106. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Pampoor Chanda pilla Cathanar (Now a Roman Catholic), Pandalam.
107. Another copy in his possession. This is a mere copy of No. 9.
108. His copy of Diakonika, a copy of No. 15.
109. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Kottathuvilayil Thomas Cathanar, Chennithala, a copy of No. 9.
110. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Pannikkottu Bartholoma Cathanar, Kallooppa.
111. Another copy in his possession, a copy of No. 9. With the Form of Baptism.
112. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Maretu Abraham Cathanar, now a Roman Catholic, Kallooppa. A copy of No. 9.
113. The Liturgy belonging to the Very Rev. Geevarughese Kor-Episcopa, Pathanamthitta. A copy of No. 9.
114. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Kaniyanthara Alexander Cathanar, Mepral.
115. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Kilakkethalackal Thomas Cathanar, Puthancavu. With the Form of Baptism.
116. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. C. C. George Cathanar, Arattupula.
117. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Neduyulathil Lukose Cathanar, Kalliseri.
118. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Adangappurathu Behanan Cathanar, Talavady.
119. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Pootakkuliyl Abraham Cathanar, Thumpaman. He got it from Syria.
120. Another copy in his possession.

121. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Vattakkattil Skaria Cathanar, Piravom. With the Form of Baptism.
122. Another copy in his possession, with the Form of Baptism. Chaldean script
123. The Liturgy belonging to Mr. Chelattu Mathoo, Kothamangalam. With the Form of Baptism. He told me that this was presented to his fore-father by Mar Baselios, the prelate who came from Syria.
124. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Aviyottu Varughese Kaseesa (Mar Thoma), Kottarakkara.
125. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Kurambelil Puthanveettil Mathew Cathanar, Kottarakkara.
126. Another copy in his possession. Chaldean script.
127. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. C. Cheriyan Kaseesa (Mar Thoma), Adur.
128. Another copy in his possession.

The Form of Baptism.

Translations.

- I. Malayalam translation. A. R. P. Press, Kunnamkulam, 1922.
English translation. Ante. No. 3 (or 5).

Printed Syriac Books.

- II. . ܐܒܬܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ

The order of Baptism published from the Press owned by the Jacobite Church of Malabar. This must be considered as an official publication.
Previous publications, Nos. 8, 9.

Syriac Manuscripts.

- III. Baptismal Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Idavalikkal Lukose Cathanar, Kottayam.
- IV. Do., The Rev. Puthenveettil Jacob Cathanar, Thumpamun. He is now a Roman Catholic.
- V. Do., Copied by the late Very Rev. Philipose Ramban on 28th Medam (8th May) 1810. It is now with the Rev. P. V. Joseph Cathanar (Mar Thoma), Palanji.
- VI. Do., The late Rev. Payyampallil David Cathanar, Mallappally.

- VII. Do., The late Very Rev. Kodiattu Kuriakos Kor-Episcopa, Tiruvalla.
- VIII. Another copy of his.
- IX. Baptismal Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Konattu Abraham Malpan, Pampakkwda. In this there are Arabic notes in Carshuni.
- X. Do., The Parish of Kolenchery, North Travancore.
- XI. Do., The late Yoyakim Ivanios Metropolitan, now in the possession of his nephew, the Rev. Karavattu Simon Cathanar, Kandanad.
- XII. Do., The Parish of Kandanad.
- XIII. Do., The Rev. Adangappurathu Behanan Cathanar, Talavadi.
- Do., in Nos., 29, 39, 41, 44, 45, 46, 47, 50, 51, 52, 54, 55, 61, 63, 66, 71, 75, 77, 78, 83, 86, 87, 91, 99, 104, 111, 115, 121, 122, 123.
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CHAPTER I

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Let me, to begin with, state certain positions which are unanimously held by the students of liturgiology irrespective of the church to which they belong.

First, it is admitted that neither St. James nor any saint of the apostolic period had any connection whatever with the liturgies which bear their names, and that there was no written liturgy for the first three centuries. But the Jacobite liturgy of St. James is prefaced as follows :—" The Anaphora of Mar James, the brother of our Lord. And this is the first Corban, which he said he heard and learned from the mouth of the Lord. And he did not add, and did not omit in it a single word." (*The Christians of St. Thomas and their Liturgies*, Rev. G. B. Howard, p. 222). It is hardly necessary to add that no student of liturgiology will support this antiquated and exploded position.

Dr. Adrian Fortescue, a Roman Catholic priest, says :—" During the first period (roughly the first two centuries) the only book used in church was the Bible. Nothing else was written down because nothing else was fixed. The celebrant and his deacons said their prayers extempore..... There was practically no ceremonial. Things were done in the simplest way as they were wanted." (*The Mass*, p. 113)

Again Dr. Fortescue :—" We must then conceive the ante-Nicene liturgy as a uniform *type*, still fluid and liable to change in its details. Gradually more and more of these details are fixed. They become customs and are kept as the tradition of the Church, for nothing is so conservative as liturgical instinct; but the whole rite is still more or less fluid, within a fixed outline. Out of this primitive fluid rite, by insistence on one detail in one place, or another somewhere else, by enlarging or shortening different parts in different churches, the parent-rites, and then again, derived from them, all the old liturgies of Christendom are derived." (*The Mass*, p. 53). There is no difference of opinion about this among scholars.

And again :—" Renaudot (a Roman Catholic) thought, that even by the IVth century there were still no liturgical books. He argues this from a passage in which St. Basil, distinguishing between scripture and tradition, quotes

liturgical prayers as belonging to the tradition. 'Who,' he says, 'of the saints has written down for us the words of the sacred invocation in the consecration of the bread and chalice?' " (*The Mass*, pp. 113, 114.)

Dr. Fortescue is of opinion, "By about the middle of the IVth century then there were certainly some liturgical books." (p. 115.)

Another indisputable point in liturgiology is that the churches, even hostile churches, were in the habit of copying prayers from one another. This is repeatedly admitted by Dr. Fortescue. (*The Mass*, pp. 231, 382, 403.)

For example take the "Responsory of Mar Severus" in the Pro-anaphora attached to the Jacobite liturgy of St. James. (*Liturgies Eastern and Western*, F. E. Brightman, Vol. I, p. 77. *The Christians of St. Thomas and their Liturgies*. Rev. G. B. Howard, p. 210.) Severus was a Jacobite, who lived in the middle of the sixth century, and was a great enemy of the Orthodox. All the same his "Responsory" was copied by the Orthodox in the Liturgies of St. James, St. Mark, and St. Chrysostom. (*Primitive Liturgies*, Rev. J. M. Neale and Rev. R. F. Littledale, pp. 5, 32, 95.)

The third point unanimously held by the students of liturgiology is that all the liturgies, without any exception whatever, were undergoing changes from time to time. While mentioning changes made in the Roman liturgy Dr. Fortescue says:—"All Eastern rites have been modified later too; some of them quite late." (*The Mass*, p. 213.) "Even when we have," says Mgr. Duchesne, one of the greatest scholars of the Roman Church, "reduced them to their most ancient form—that which they possessed before the schisms of the sixth century, all these liturgies are still far from having the simplicity of those of the fourth century. Many things have been changed, suppressed, and added." (*Christian Worship*, p. 82.)

Again Dr. Fortescue:—"Moreover there was no such ideal of exact uniformity in liturgy as we have now." (*The Mass*, p. 200.)

"It was not," says Mgr. Duchesne, "in accordance with the practice of early days to attach to things of this nature that importance which would sanction and fix them. Usages developed by slow degrees into rites; rites expanded into more and more imposing and complicated ceremonies, and at

the same time limitation was put upon the subject-matter of the prayers and exhortations." (*Christian Worship*, p. 54.)

He has not given us to understand the range of his words "early days." That they cannot but include the first sixteen centuries of the Christian era is evident from the following facts.

"The Council of Trent (1545—1563).....wished the Roman Mass to be celebrated uniformly everywhere..... In its eighteenth session (16 Feb., 1562) the Council appointed a commission to examine the missal, to revise it and restore its earlier form. At the close of the council (4 Dec., 1563) the commission had not yet finished its works, so further proceedings were left to the Pope (Pius IV, 1559—1565).....Pius IV died before the work was finished; it was ended under Pius V (1566—1572). On July 14, 1570, the Pope published the reformed missal by the Bull *Quo Primum*, still printed at its beginning.....The bull commands that this missal alone be used wherever the Roman rite is followed. No one, of whatever rank he be, shall use any other.....Mass shall be sung or said according to the rite, manner and standard which is given in this missal; nor in celebrating Mass shall anyone dare to add or recite other ceremonies or prayers than those that are contained herein." (*The Mass*, Fortescue, pp. 206, 207.)

An article on "Immaculate Conception" in Chambers's Encyclopædia, revised by Cardinal Manning, says that the Pope in the 17th century ordered, "That, nevertheless, in the public mass or office of the church, no one should introduce into the prayers or other formularies any other word than simply *conceptio*, without adding any epithet involving either doctrine." (Vol. VI, p. 86.)

This papal order of the 17th century gives us to understand that the Bull of Pope Pius V, dated 14th July, 1570, was not strictly put into practice, and that the bishops and priests were at times making alterations and additions in the liturgy; else the prohibition in the order is quite out of place. This Bull is now strictly obeyed in the Roman Church. As for the Jacobite Church—the same is the case, I dare say, with the other Eastern Churches also—there is no canon or Patriarchal order prohibiting alterations and additions in the liturgy. The Jacobite Church, therefore, has not yet deviated from the practice of early days "by attaching to things of this

nature that importance which would sanction and fix them." That "many things have been changed, suppressed, and added" by individual divines without any reference to the Patriarch, will be shown in the following pages.

Many of the Jacobite divines are under the impression that in their liturgy no correction has ever been made, and that all the copies of their liturgy are quite uniform. "There are large numbers of manuscripts of these (Jacobite) liturgies," says Brightman, "in European libraries. There are certainly differences among them, and an examination of them from a liturgical point of view would probably reveal considerable variety of local usage, besides throwing light on the history of the rite: but apparently no such classification has been attempted." (p. LX). In the Jacobite Church fifty-four liturgies, formed after the pattern of their chief liturgy of St. James, are more or less in vogue. Brightman gives the names of these liturgies and the dates of their compilation. (pp. LVIII—LXII). Many of these liturgies came into existence during the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The use of these liturgies was never sanctioned by any patriarchal order or the decision of a council. These liturgies, therefore, came into vogue without any authoritative sanction whatever. The clergy, of their own accord, began to use them, and so they came into use. There is no canon in the Jacobite Church prohibiting the use of any liturgy, which is not formally sanctioned by the Patriarch. No authoritative order has yet been issued giving a list of the liturgies that are in use. If an influential *malpan* compile a liturgy today, and ask his disciples to use it, it will come into use. How can a bishop say that it is an unauthorised liturgy, while there is no list of the authorised liturgies? This is how, many liturgies came into use in the Jacobite Church. I am not going to take these minor liturgies into consideration. If a divine is at liberty to use a new liturgy without the sanction of the Patriarch, he is much more at liberty to suppress or add a few words or sentences in the liturgy.

CHAPTER II

JACOBITE LITURGY OF ST. JAMES.

Introductory Remarks.

There are three divisions in the Liturgy. (1) Pro-anaphora, (2) Anaphora, the Eucharistic liturgy properly so-called, which corresponds substantially to the Latin canon of the mass, (3) Concluding Service. That the first and third parts are later additions is admitted on all hands—and that is the case with the promions, sedras, and hymns.

There are ever so many promions and hymns composed by different persons and at different periods. Even now the priests may compose promions or hymns and recite them in the divine service. There is no rule enjoining that such and such promions or hymns should be used on such and such occasions. That is left to the discretion of the officiating priest. In some copies of the liturgy a large number of promions and hymns are given. The priest may choose some for the occasion.

Moses Bar Kepha, Bishop of Mosul, 9th and 10th centuries, and Dionysius Bar Salib, Bishop of Amid, end of the 12th century, have written commentaries on the Jacobite Liturgy. It is the St. James' Liturgy that is commented upon by both. They take every item into consideration. They do not quote every prayer *in extenso*, but give certain words in such a way as to make us understand what prayer they are referring to.

Since even the minor items such as "Peace be with you all," "And with thy spirit," are commented upon by them, we may rest assured that they have not left out any item at all, and that those items, which are not alluded to by these commentators, were not known to them.

During the days of Moses Bar Kepha there was no promion, nor sedra, nor katholiki. Bar Salib speaks of the sedra of entrance at the beginning of the service, not anywhere else. He never mentions the word promion. But he speaks of katholiki.

The MS., I translate here, is that of the late Jacobite Patriarch Abdulla. I have put in italics those portions which are not uniformly found in all copies. The portions that are in copies Nos. 11 and 6 and are wanting in this MS. are given

in the notes at the end of each part and indicated by the sign (No. 11) and (Mar Ivanios) respectively in brackets.

As to the declarations or prayers to be recited by the deacon or the people only the initial words are, as a rule, given in the liturgy. Wherever such allusions are given, I have copied the whole from the printed *Diakonika*, assuming that what is given there is alluded to in the MS. of the liturgy I am translating here.

FIRST PART

Pro-anaphora

Introductory Remarks.

During the days of these two commentators the Pro-anaphora was very short. Some items, which we find in the liturgy of those days, are now extinct. First, at the beginning of the Eucharistic service, according to Bar Kepha, those who were not allowed to partake of the Lord's Supper, such as the catechumens and the guilty members of the Church, were sent out. We learn from a Jacobite bishop of the VIth century, that there was such a practice during his days. (*A Homily of Mar Jacob of Serugh*, translated by Dom Hugh Connolly, O. S. B., Downside Review, November, 1908).

Bar Salib describes this as a practice of the past. James of Edessa (640—708 A. D.), one of the pillars of the Jacobite Church, in a letter describing the Eucharistic service, says:—“After the reading of the holy books of the Old and the New Testament, it is right that there be three prayers: the first prayer over the Hearers, the deacon proclaiming and crying aloud *Go, ye hearers*; with intent that they pass beneath the hand of the bishop or the presbyter, receiving the imposition of the hand and going forth. And after that let there be the prayer over the Energumens, and when the deacon cries aloud *Go, ye energumens*, they pass beneath the hand of the bishop or the presbyter who has instructed them and go forth. And they make a third prayer over the Penitents, and these also the deacon dismisses and they go forth. But all these things have now vanished from the church, albeit sometimes the deacons make mention of them, exclaiming after the ancient custom.” (Brightman, p. 490) As this letter is extracted from Dionysius Bar Salib, and as there is no other text

extant, Brightman is of opinion that this text "is perhaps not wholly to be depended upon." (Brightman, p. LXI) He seems to think Bar Salib may have tampered with the text. There is ground for some suspicion here. From Bar Kephā we understand that the above was a living practice during the 9th and 10th centuries; whereas James of the 7th and 8th centuries says that it was not a living practice, and that agrees with Bar Salib of the 12th century. But it is quite possible that this practice was a living one during the 9th and 10th centuries in Mosul, and a dead tradition during the 7th and 8th centuries in Edessa.

Nobody, according to the ancient practice, was allowed to attend the service without communicating. That this was the universal practice during the early centuries is admitted on all hands. "After the homily," says Mgr. Duchesne, "the various classes of persons who are not entitled to be present at the holy mysteries are dismissed. The catechumens are sent away first.....The same form is observed in regard to the energumens, the competents, that is to say, the catechumens who are preparing to receive baptism, and finally the penitents. The faithful communicants, who are now alone in the church, give themselves to prayer." (*Christian Worship*, pp. 58, 59).

Narsai, a pillar of the Nestorian Church (5th and 6th centuries), says:— "And when they have been blessed, another proclamation is made to them: 'Let every one that has not received baptism depart hence'; go forth, ye unbaptised, ye shall not partake of the Mysteries of the Church; for only to them of the house-hold is it permitted to partake.

"Again in a different manner another proclamation is made: 'Let everyone that has not received the sign (*rushma*) of life depart from hence'; and every one that has repented and returned from unorthodox heresy, until he is signed he shall not partake of the Mysteries of the Church. Every one, again, that has denied his faith and has returned to his (former) condition, until he is absolved by the sign of the Church he shall not partake.

"Again another proclamation is made in a different order: 'Let every one that receives not the Body and the Blood depart from hence': every one that has been proscribed by the priesthood and forbidden to receive; and at the season when they (the Mysteries) are offered he may not

remain. Whoso has been forbidden by the canon to receive the Sacrament, it is not even permitted to him to stand in the place where they (the Mysteries) are being offered. He that is sick (and) ailing, and perforce is unable to receive, he may not even stand in the nave (*haikla*) where they (the Mysteries) are being consecrated." (*Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, pp. 2, 3).

This is still found in the Uniat Chaldean liturgy (*The Syriac Mass*, p. 22). There it is not a living practice, but only a dead tradition. St. Chrysostom (4th and 5th centuries) severely condemns the non-communicants who, in opposition to the injunction, attended the Eucharistic service. (*Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians and Homilies on the Epistle to the Ephesians of St. Chrysostom*, pp. 132-134).

This primitive practice was allowed to drop out because of the new teaching about the Eucharist.*

Secondly, there was a ceremony known as the "Great Entrance," the procession in which the bread and wine are carried from the prothesis to the altar. This too is now extinct in the Jacobite Church.

The Text.

**Liturg
known to
Moses Bar
Kepha.**

**Liturg
known to Dio-
nysius Bar
Salib.**

Patriarch Abdulla's MS.

Priest. Mary that brought thee forth and John that baptized thee shall intercede for us. Have mercy on us. (1)

People. By the prayers of Mary who brought thee forth and of all the saints (2) I will magnify thee, O Lord our king, the only-begotten Son and the Word of the Heavenly Father, who art immortal in thy nature, who by thy grace camest for the life

* On the advent of the doctrine that there is a local and external presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and that there is some benefit in approaching that external presence, non-communicants were allowed to attend the Eucharistic service.

and salvation of the whole race of man and didst become incarnate of the holy and glorious and pure virgin-mother of God, Mary: who didst take a body without change, and was crucified for us. O Christ our Lord, who by thy death didst trample under foot our death and destroy it, who art one of the Holy Trinity, and art worshipped and glorified equally with thy Father and thy living Holy Spirit, have mercy upon us.

| | |
|-------------------|----------------|
| Holy art | Holy art |
| thou, O God. | thou, O God |
| Holy art thou, | etc. as in Bar |
| O Mighty. Holy | Kepha. |
| art thou, O Im- | |
| mortal. Thou | |
| who wast cruci- | |
| fied for us, have | |
| mercy upon us. | |

Hymns are sung before the reading of the holy books like the voice of the trumpet which invites the faithful to hear the word of God.

Priest. O Lord God (3)
grant to us that we may
keep thy commandments
and those of thy divine

apostles and of Paul the architect and builder of thy holy Church (4)

| | |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| Old Testa- ment. | Old Testa- ment. |
|---------------------|---------------------|

| | |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| New Testa- ment. | New Testa- ment. |
|---------------------|---------------------|

Deacon. From the Epistle of

People. Praise be to the Lord of the Apostles, and his blessings be on us for ever.

Deacon reads the lesson for the day. (5)

Priest. Grant us, O Lord God, the knowledge of thy divine words, and fill us with the understanding of thine holy Gospel and the riches of thy divine gifts of thine Holy Spirit. Grant to us that with joy we may keep entirely thy commandments and fulfil thy will, and be accounted worthy of the blessings and the mercies that are from thee now and for ever. Amen.

Deacon. Let us stand in silence and awe and modesty and listen to the proclamation of the living words of God from the Gospel of our Lord Jesus the Messiah.

Priest. Peace be to you all.

Before the reading of the Gospel the deacon admonishes the people to stand decently.

Before the Gospel the priest says "Peace be to you all."

People. May the Lord God make us also worthy with thy spirit.

Gospel.

Gospel.

Priest. The life-giving preaching of the holy Gospel of our Lord Jesus, the Messiah -from the...
.....who is the evangelist that preacheth life and salvation to the world.

People. Blessed is he that hath come and is to come. Praise be to him who sent him for our salvation, and may his blessing be on us all.

Priest. In the time of the dispensation of our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, the Word of the living God, who was incarnate of the holy Virgin Mary, these things thus were done.

People. Thus we believe and confess.

Priest. Our glory and our thanksgiving and our blessing to our Lord Jesus Christ, for his life-giving words to us and to his Father, who sent him for our salvation, and to his living and Holy Spirit who giveth us life, now and evermore. Amen.

After the Gospel the deacon exhorts the people to pray to God the Word. He asks five classes of men, such as the Catechumens and the guilty members of the Church to go out of the church.

The Great Entrance. Incense proceeds from the chancel to the nave and returns to the chancel after a circuit.

The Great Entrance. Sometimes the Gospel is read after the Great Entrance.

Deacon's order as in Bar Kepha.

Incense as in Bar Kepha.

The Priest recites the sedra of entrance (i.e. the Great Entrance.)

Promion.

Sedra (6)

*About the incense (7)
(8)*

Priest. Thou therefore that pardonest and cleansest, thou that dost remit, cover, and blot out, and dost not remember our wickedness, blot out, O Lord, by thy loving mercy, my sins which are many and great and not to be numbered, and the sins of all thy faithful people. O Good One, have mercy upon us and bless us. O Lord God by thy mercy remember us. By thy

*mercy remember the
 of our fathers, brethren
 elders, doctors, and
 departed ones, and a
 faithful departed, the
 dren of thy holy
 glorious church. O
 God, give rest to
 souls, and spirits,
 bodies, and sprinkle
 dew of thy grace
 mercy on their bones
 Christ our king, the
 of glory, our Lord
 Master, be thou our
 solver, and our absolute
 O my Lord, hear us
 help us. Come to our
 save us. (9) By thy
 remove all bitter cha-
 rents ; and put
 away. O Lord, in
 mercy forbid and re-
 from us the rods of w
 Make us all worthy
 that good end which
 men of peace. Give
 freely the end befitt
 Christian, worthy
 pleasing and accep
 unto thy Divinity.
 We offer up unto
 thanksgiving now an
 evermore (11).*

People. Amen.

(12)

He burns incense
 makes three crosses
 the censer and says.

Priest (13) Holy i
 Holy Father.

Priest. Holy is the
Holy Son.

People. Amen.

Priest. Holy is the living and Holy Spirit. He sanctifieth the incense of his sinful servant, having mercy and kindness on ourselves, and on the souls of our fathers, our brethren, our leaders, our departed, and all the faithful departed, the children of the holy Church, in this world and in the next for ever and ever.

People. Amen.

(14)

Creed.

Creed.

Priest. We believe in
one God the Father etc.

People. Amen.

(15)

Priest. (washes the fingers and says) Wash away, O Lord God, the filth and stains of my soul, and cleanse me by thy sprinkling of life, so that I may be made meet to ascend to thy holy and sanctifying Holy of Holies in purity and holiness, may handle thy adorable and divine mysteries without defilement, so that with pure conscience I may offer unto thee a living sacrifice that may be pleasing unto thy divinity and like unto thy glorious sacrifice, O

Our Lord, and our God
for ever.

(16)

He kneels before the
table of life and says,

O holy and glorious
Trinity, have mercy upon
me; O holy and glorious
Trinity pity me in my sin-
fulness; O holy and glori-
ous Trinity receive this
offering from my weak
and sinful hands. O God,
in thy mercy, make rest
and good remembrance
on thy holy and heavenly
altar to thy mother, and
to thy saints and to all the
faithful dead. O God, par-
don and remit at this hour
the sins of thy sinful serv-
ant; and help my weak-
ness which crieth unto
thee at all times, by the
prayers of thy mother and
of all thy saints. Pardon
and remit, O God, in thy
mercy, the sins of those
who are of our blood, our
fathers, our brethren, and
our masters, and of him
for whom and because of
whom this sacrifice is
offered.

NOTES

1. This is not in Brightman's MS., nor in No. 12.
2. "By the prayers of Mary who brought thee forth and of all the saints" is not in the autograph MSS. of the late Mar Curilos Metropolitan (Nos. 22, 23, 24) and many other MSS.

3. "Receive our prayers and our supplications which are at this time before thee, O our Lord and our God for ever". (No. 11)
4. "With purity and holiness" (No. 11.)
5. *Congregation* Halleluiah, Halleluiah, offer ye unto Him sacrifices of praise. Bring spotless offerings, and enter into the courts of the Lord, adore Him before His holy altar. Halleluiah" (No. 11, p. 20, & *Mar Ivanios*, p. 4.)
6. Here there is neither Promion nor Sedra according to No. 102, but the blessing of the censer follows.
7. "Incense is offered here and the corner of the veil is folded down." (No. 11). There is no mention of incense in several MSS.
8. "*Deacon*. Before the Lord who blesses, and before the Altar that absolves, and before the Divine and Heavenly Mysteries, and before this awe-inspiring Holy Qurbana, incense is offered by this honourable priest. Let us all pray and beseech of the Lord grace and mercy.
Congregation. Merciful Lord, have mercy upon us and help us." (*Mar Ivanios*, p. 6).
9. "And accept our prayers and supplications." (*Mar Ivanios*, p. 7).
10. "Make us all meet for a good end." (No. 11).
11. This prayer is not in several copies such as those of Brightman (p. 81) and Howard (p. 218).
12. Here a large number of promions and sedras are given in No. 11. After the last promion, "People. May the Lord and God accept your service and help us by your prayers.
Priest. May we receive from God pardon of offences and remission of sins in both worlds, for ever and ever. *People*. Amen" (No. 11).
13. "He places incense in the censer, and upon it makes the sign of the cross three times and says." (No. 11).
14. "*Deacon*. Barekmore. Divine wisdom calleth aloud. Stand ye well and respond to the prayer of the reverend priest" (*Mar Ivanios*, p. 9).

James of Edessa, during the 7th and 8th centuries says :—
 “The priest ought to testify to the people and admonish them and say, These Holy Things of the body and blood are given to the holy and pure, and not to them that are not holy and while he testifies this and cries aloud he raises the mysteries on high and shows them to all the people as if for a testimony, and the people immediately cry aloud and say The One Father is Holy and the rest. And so they communicate in the mysteries.” (Brightman, p. 492).

Since these words are common in all ancient liturgies, Eastern and Western, we learn that the primitive practice, both in the East and West, was to administer the Lord’s Supper just after these words. Narsai (5th and 6th centuries) says :— “And when the children of the Church have been prepared to receive the Mysteries, the priest cries out : ‘To the holy ones is the Holy Thing fitting.’ To all the holy ones, sanctified by the Spirit of adoption of sons, is the Holy Thing fitting by the consensus of the Fathers. To all the holy ones whom baptism has sanctified the Holy Thing is fitting according to the ecclesiastical law. Those other grades who have been driven out from the midst of the Church may not take part in the reception of the divine Mysteries.

“The people answer : ‘One is the Father, that Holy One who is from eternity, without beginning and without end ; and as a favour He hath made us worthy to acquire sanctification from the spiritual birth of baptism. And one is the Father, and one also is the Son and the Holy Spirit : one in three and three in one, without alteration. Glory to the Father, and to the Son who is from Him, and to the Holy Spirit, a Being who is for ever and ever without end.’

“Then the priest himself first receives the Sacrament, that he may teach the people that even the priest himself stands in need of mercy. The priest who has consecrated stands in need of the reception of the adorable Mysteries, that he also may be made worthy of the communion of the Pledge of life. The priest precedes the bishop in the reception of the Mysteries, if a priest has consecrated them and not the high priest (i. e. the bishop). In due order (or by degrees) the priests and deacons receive ; and then the people, men and women, little and great.” (*Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, pp. 26, 27). This is the case with the liturgy of Addai and Mari. (Brightman, pp. 296, 297).

The Text.

**Liturgy known to Bar
Kepha and Bar Salib.**

Patriarch Abdull's MS.

*The shorter liturgy of Mar
James the brother of our Lord.*

Deacon's Exhortation.
Stand well.

Be free from worldly
thoughts.

Attend to the prayers.
Pray that the prayers
may be answered. Recite
the responses in such a
manner as to have them
answered by God.

According to Bar Salib
the priest begins by "glory
be to the Father, the Son,
and the Holy Ghost."

Prayer of the Kiss of
Peace.

Prayer before the Kiss of Peace.
Priest. O God of all, and
Lord, make these unworthy sel-
ves worthy of this salvation, so
that without guile, and united by
the bonds of love, we may salute
one another with a holy and
divine kiss. We will offer up to
thee praise and thanksgiving and
to thine only Son (17) and to
thine Holy Spirit now and ever-
more.

People. Amen.

Priest. Peace be to
you all.

Priest. Peace be to you all.

People. And with thy
spirit.

People. And with thy spirit.

Deacon. Barekmore. By the
love of our Lord, let us give peace

each one to his neighbour by a holy and divine kiss.

People. O Lord, our God, make us worthy of this peace all the days of our life.

Reading of the "Book of life."

Deacon. Let us bow our heads.

Deacon. Holy and divine peace being given, let us bow down our heads before the merciful Lord.

People. Our Lord and our God, we bow down our heads before thee.

Prayer of the imposition of hands.

Priest. O thou only merciful Lord, who dwellest on high, and hast respect unto the lowly, send down blessing on those who bow their necks before thee.

Bless them by the grace of thy Only-begotten Son and the Holy Spirit (18).

People. Amen.

The third prayer or the prayer of the veil.

Priest. O God the Father, who, in thy great love towards mankind, didst send thy Son into the world to bring back the sheep that had wandered *do not reject, O Lord, the service of this unbloody sacrifice* (19); for we put our trust in thy mercies, and not in our righteousness. Let not this mystery which was performed for our salvation be to our condemnation, but to the blotting out of our sins and the rendering of thanks unto thee and thy Only begotten Son and thy Holy Spirit.

People. Amen.

Deacon. Let us all stand well.

Deacon. Brethren, let us stand well with awe, reverence, purity, holiness, love and true faith and watch this holy Qurbana which is offered before us by this reverend priest. For he offers this living sacrifice to God the Father in unity and peace on behalf of us all (20)

(21)

People. Blessing, peace, sacrifice, and praise.

Priest. Thou art the hard rock which sent forth the twelve rivers of water for the twelve tribes of Israel. Thou art the hard rock which was set against the tomb of our Redeemer (22)

(23)

Priest. The love of God the Father etc.

Priest. The love of God the Father, and the grace of the Only-begotten Son, and the communion and indwelling of the Holy Spirit, be with you all, my brethren, for ever.

(24)

Priest. Up where Christ sitteth etc.

Priest. Up where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, be the thoughts, and minds, and hearts of all of us in this hour.

People. They are.

People. They are.

Priest. Let us praise the Lord etc.

Priest. Let us praise the Lord with reverence.

People. It is meet and right.

People. It is meet and right.

Priest. Truly it is meet and right that we should praise, and adore, and glorify the maker of all creation :

(And he raises his voice.)

Priest. Whom the
powers of heaven etc.

Let us also glorify Him, whom the powers of heaven, corporeal and incorporeal, glorify; the sun and the moon and all the stars; the earth and the seas; the first-born graven in the heavenly Jerusalem; Angels and Archangels: primacies, principalities, thrones, dominions, powers; the many-eyed cherubim; and the six-winged seraphim who covering their heads and their feet fly one to the other crying and saying "Holy! holy! holy! is the Lord God of sabaoth, with whose glory heaven and earth are full."

People. Holy! Holy!
etc.

People. Holy! holy! holy!
is the Lord God of sabaoth, with whose glory heaven and earth are full. Hosanna in the highest: blessed is he that cometh and is to come in the name of the Lord, Hosanna in the highest.

(25)

Priest's private prayer.

Priest. (Depression.) Assuredly thou art holy; and thou makest holy, O King of the world. Holy also is thy Son, Our Lord Jesus Christ; Holy also is thy Holy Spirit, who searcheth out thy mysteries. Out of the ground thou didst create man and didst place him in paradise; when he transgressed thy commandments thou didst not leave him to his wanderings, but didst guide him by the hand of the prophets, and at length didst send thy Only-begotten Son into the world, who, when he was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary,

renewed thy image that was decayed.

Priest. When he etc.

(And raising his voice.) When he, the sinless One, of his own will, prepared to accept death for us sinners, he took bread in his holy hands and gave thanks and blessed and sanctified and broke and gave to his disciples and said, Take, eat of it: this is my body which for you and for many is broken and *given for the remission of sins, and for eternal life.* (26)

People. Amen.

Priest. In like manner also etc.

Priest. In like manner also he took the cup, and gave thanks and blessed and sanctified and gave to his holy apostles saying, Take, drink ye all of this. This is my blood which for you and many is shed and *given for the remission of sins, and for eternal life.* (27)

People. Amen.

Priest. This do ye for my memorial; when ye eat this bread and drink this cup commemorate my death and confess my resurrection.

Priest. This do ye for my memorial; *when ye communicate in this mystery,*(28) Commemorate my death and my resurrection until I come.

People. Thy death etc.

People. Thy death, Lord, we commemorate; we confess thy resurrection, and look for thy second coming. May thy blessing be upon us all.

Priest. We commemorate etc.

Priest. We commemorate thy death, O Lord, and thy resurrection in three days, and thy ascension into heaven, and thy sitting on the right hand of God the

Father, and further thy second coming, wherein thou wilt judge the world in righteousness, and wilt reward everyone according to his works. We, therefore, offer unto thee this unbloody sacrifice. Deal not with us according to our sins, nor reward us according to our iniquities, but according to thy abundant mercies blot out the sins of us thy servants. For thy people and thy inheritance make supplication unto thee and unto thy Father through thee saying, Have mercy upon us, O God the Father Almighty.

People. Have mercy
etc.

People. Have mercy upon us,
O God the Father Almighty. O
Lord God, we praise thee, bless
thee, adore thee, and supplicate
thee. O good One, have mercy
upon us, and bless us.

Priest. We also etc.

Priest. We also, O my Lord,
thy weak and sinful servants,
having received thy goodness,
give thanks to thy benignity for
all, and on account of all.

(29)

Bar Kepha:— Deacon
invites the people for the
indwelling of the Holy
Spirit asking them to
stand in silence and fear.
Bar Salib:—How fearful
is this moment and how
dreadful this time etc. and
stand ye in silence and
pray.

*Deacon. Barekmore. My be-
loved, how fearful is this moment
and how dreadful this time when
the Holy Spirit descends from
Heaven, from the heights above,
and dwells upon this holy Qurbana
and sanctifies it. Stand ye in
silence and pray (30)*

(31)

Priest. Invokes God the Father to send the Holy Spirit on himself and on the people and on the mysteries.

Bar Kepha :—Hear us O Lord, and bless us.

Bar Salib:—Hear me O Lord.

People. Kurie-eleison, three times.

Consecrating prayer different.

Vide Chapter VIII.

Priest. (Invocation of the Holy Ghost. Depression) Have mercy upon us, O God the Father, and send upon us (32) and upon these offerings thy Holy Spirit, the Lord equal to thee and to the Son in the throne and kingdom and essence eternal; who spake in thy Old and New Testaments; and descended like a dove upon our Lord Jesus Christ in the river Jordan, and like tongues of fire upon the Apostles in the upper room.

(And he raises his voice) Hear me O Lord, hear me, O Lord, hear me, O Lord and spare and have mercy upon me.

People. Kurie-eleison, Kure-eleiscn, kurie-eleison.

Priest. so that the Holy Spirit may abide and make this bread the life-making body, the saving body, the body of Christ our God, (33)

People. Amen.

Priest. and that (he) may thoroughly make this cup the blood of the New Testament, the saving blood, the blood of Christ our God, (33)

People. Amen.

Priest. so that they may sanctify the souls and spirits, and bodies of those that partake of them: (34. to the yielding of the fruit of good works, to the confirmation of the holy Church which is founded upon the rock of faith

and against which the gates of hell shall not prevail. Deliver the Church from heretical scandals, even to the end. She will offer up to thee praise and thanksgiving and to thy Only-begotten Son, and to thy Holy Spirit.

People. Amen.

(35).

Litany. Deacon's exhortations six, three for the living, and the other three for the dead. (1) The living fathers such as the Patriarchs and Bishops. (2) The faithful brethren who are living. (3) The faithful kings. (4) The mother of God and others, (5) Spiritual Fathers Malpans etc. (6) The faithful dead.

Priest's private prayers six, and his public prayers six.

Priest. (Depression) We offer unto thee, O Lord, this unbloody sacrifice in behalf of holy Zion, the mother of all the churches, and in behalf of the holy Church which is in all the world. Bestow upon her the gift of thy Holy Spirit. Remember, O Lord, our just and upright fathers, our Patriarchs... and.....and our holy Mar.....priests, deacons, and all the orders ecclesiastical, together with my humble self. Remember not against me the sins of my youth; but according to thy mercies do thou make me to live. Remember also our brethren in bonds, the sick, the infirm, the afflicted, and those who are vexed by evil spirits. Bless the air and the crown of the year; fulfilling thy good pleasure unto all that liveth. (36)

(Elevation.) Deliver us, O Lord God, from every evil insurrection of wicked men, and the assault and oppression of devils; and from every stroke which has been brought upon us because of our sins. Keep us in the observance of thy holy commandments. For thou art a merciful God. We send up glory and thanksgiving

to thee, and to thy Only Son, and to thy Holy Spirit and evermore. (37).

People. Amen.

(38)

*Priest. (Depression).
O Lord, the fathers and
who are standing and
with us, those also who
moved from us, also I
have wished to offer and
been able. Grant to each
good petition. (39)*

*(Elevation.) Remember
all those whom we have
remembered, and those whom
not remembered. Rec
sacrifices in thy blood.
Reward them with thy
salvation, and make them
of the aid which is for
Make them strong in thy
and arm them with thy
For thou art merciful.
thee we offer up for
thanksgiving, and to thy
Only Son, and to thy
Spirit, now and evermore*

People. Amen.

(41)

*Priest. (Depression)
O Lord, kings and queens
religion, and aid them
weapon of the Spirit and
under them all their enemies
we may lead quiet lives*

*(Elevation.) For thy
saviour, helper, and giver
to all them that trust in
thee we offer up prayer*

thanksgiving and to thy Only-begotten Son and to thy Holy Spirit now and evermore. (43)

(44)

Priest. (Depression) Since thou hast power over life and death, O Lord, remember the holy fathers, the prophets, the apostles, Mary the virgin mother of God, Mar John the Baptist, the Martyr Stephen, with all the righteous. (45)

(Elevation) We beseech thee, O Lord, whose might prevails over impossibilities, join us in the congregation of the first-born written in heaven. We remember them, that they may also remember us before thee and communicate with us in this spiritual sacrifice (46) for the protection of the living and for the consolation of us that are in trouble, and for the rest of the faithful dead, (47) our fathers, and brethren, and masters, through thy grace and mercy and those of thine Only-begotten Son, and of thy Holy Spirit, now and evermore.

People. Amen.

(48)

Priest. (Depression) Remember, O Lord, the true shepherds, who, from James the chief of bishops until this day, have maintained orthodoxy in thy Church. (49)

(Elevation) Confirm in our souls the doctrine of the illumined doctors, who bore thy holy name before gentiles and kings and the

children of Israel. (50) Remove the heresies that trouble us. Make us worthy to stand blameless before thine awful judgment-seat. For thou art holy and sanctifier of saints. To thee we offer up praise and thanksgiving, and to thy Only-begotten Son, and to thy Holy Spirit, now and evermore.

People. Amen.

(51)

Priest. (Depression) Remember, O Lord, all ecclesiastical orders who in the Orthodox faith have gone before, and sleep, and are at rest, those for whom they have offered, and those who are now named. (52)

(Elevation) O Lord, Lord God of spirits and of all flesh, remember all those who, in right faith, have gone from us, and give rest to their bodies, and souls and spirits, and deliver them from the condemnation that never endeth; make them joyful in that place which the light of thy countenance visiteth; blotting out their misdeeds. Enter not into judgment with them. For there is none innocent before thee, save only thy Only-begotten Son, through whom we also hope to obtain mercy, remission of sins for his sake, both for us and for them.

People. Forgive, O God, the transgressions which we have committed voluntarily and involuntarily, wittingly and unwittingly.

People Forgive, O God, the transgressions which we and they have committed before thee voluntarily and involuntarily, wittingly and unwittingly. (53)

Priest. (Depression) Pardon,

O God, our misdeeds which have been in thought, word, and deed ; secret and open are open unto thee.

(Elevation) Keep our end without sin, O Lord ; and gather us under the feet of thine elect, when and where as thou wilt, only without the confusion of our sins. May thy all-glorious and blessed name be praised and glorified with that of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of thy Holy Spirit, in this as in all now and ever-more.

Priest. In this as in all.

People. As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever, and shall be for ever.

People. Amen. As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, for ever. Amen.

Priest. Peace be with you all.

People. And with thy spirit.

Priest. Mercies of our great God etc.

Priest. The mercies of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ be with you all, my brethren, for ever.

(54)

Breaking

Priest. (breaks) Thus truly did the Word of God suffer in the flesh and was sacrificed and broken on the cross ; and his soul was separated from his body though his divinity was in no wise separated, either from his soul or from his body. And he was pierced in his side by the spear, and there flowed from it blood and water, propitiation for all the world ; and his body was stained thereby. And for the sins of the circle of the world the Son died upon the cross. And

his soul came and united to his body, and he turned us from a left-hand conversation to (that of) the right-hand; and by his own blood he reconciled and united and associated heavenly things with things of the earth, and the people with peoples, and the soul with the body. And the third day he rose from the tomb: and is One Emmanuel, which is not divided, after the indivisible union, into the two natures. Thus we believe: thus we confess; thus we affirm. This body appertains to (*lit.*, is of) this blood, and this blood appertains to this body.

Priest. O God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, etc.

Priest. (Elevation) O God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who art blessed by the Cherubim and hallowed by the Seraphim, and extolled by the thousands of thousands and myriads of myriads of reasonable hosts, who sanctifiest and makest perfect the offerings and ripe fruits which are offered unto thee for a sweet odour: sanctify also our bodies and souls and spirits so that with a clean heart and face that is not ashamed we may call upon thee, O God, heavenly Father, and may pray and say, Our Father which art in heaven,

People. Our Father, which art in heaven, etc.

People. Hallowed be thy name etc.

Priest. Yea, O Lord our God, lead us not into temptation, etc.

Priest. Yea, O Lord our God, lead us not into temptation that cannot be endured, but deliver us from the evil one, removing the

temptation. We offer unto thee glory and thanksgiving, and to thy Only-begotten Son, and to thy Holy Spirit, now and evermore.

People. Amen.

Priest. Peace be, etc.

Priest. Peace be unto you all.

People. And with, etc.

People. And with thy spirit.

Deacon. Let us bow our heads.

(55)

People. Before Thee.

Priest. Thy servants have bowed their heads.

Priest O Lord, thy servants have bowed their heads before thee awaiting thine abundant mercies. Send forth thy blessings and sanctify the bodies, souls, and spirits, of us all. Make us worthy to *partake of the life-giving mysteries* (56) of our Saviour the Messiah. We will offer glory and praise to thee and to thine Only-begotten Son and to thy Holy Spirit, allholy and good and adorable, life-giving and consubstantial with thee, now and evermore.

People. Amen.

Priest. Peace be with you all.

People And with thy spirit.

Priest. The grace and blessings, etc.

Priest. Brethren, the grace and blessings of the glorious, uncreated, self-existent, eternal, adorable, consubstantial and Holy Trinity be with you all.

Deacon Let us watch, etc.

Deacon. Barekmore. Let us watch with fear and trembling.

(57)

Priest. Holy things, etc.

Priest. Holy things are given to the holy and to the pure alone.

People. The one Father is Holy, the one Son is holy, the one Spirit is holy. Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost.

Deacon. There is none other holy save the Holy Father, the Holy Son, and the Holy Spirit (58) Amen.

(59)

Notes.

17. "Through Whom and with Whom to Thee is fitting glory, and honour, and dominion, with Thy Spirit, all Holy and good and adorable, life-giving, and consubstantial." (Mar Ivanios, p. 10).

18. "And the Holy Spirit" is not in No. 11.

19. In some copies as that of Etheridge we read (p. 201). "Turn not away thy face from us while we observe this solemn and unbloody sacrifice" instead of "Do not reject... the service of this unbloody sacrifice."

20. This is not found in several MSS. (Vide Ch. XI).

21. "*Congregation.* This Qurbana is blessing, peace, sacrifice and thanksgiving." (Mar Ivanios, p. 12).

22. This apostrophe to the veil is not found in several copies such as those of Mar Curilos Metropolitan (Nos. 21, 22, 23).

23. The priest while pronouncing the benediction must "take power from the mysteries" (No. 11).

24. "*Congregation.* Amen. And with thy spirit also" (Mar Ivanios, p. 12).

25. "Here incense is offered" (No. 11)

26. "Take, eat of this, all of you; for this is my body." The liturgy of the Maronite Uniats who use the Jacobite liturgy (Etheridge. p. 204). Maronite liturgy does not contain "Which for you and for many is broken and given for the remission of sins and for eternal life."

27. "Take, drink of this, all of you; this is my blood of the New Testament, which for you and for many believers is shed for the remission of sins and life everlasting." (*Etheridge's copy of the Jacobite liturgy*, p. 204).

28. Instead of this we find in several MSS. what is given on the left side.

29. "*Congregation.* Have mercy upon us, O God the Father Almighty. O Lord, God, we glorify Thee, we bless Thee, we worship Thee, and we beseech Thee. O Good One, have mercy upon us and bless us." (Mar Ivanios, p. 14).

30. This is not in several MSS. such as that of the late Mar Curilos Metropolitan (No. 21).

31. "*Congregation.* May peace be with us all and good-will to us all." (Mar Ivanios, p. 14).

32. "Upon us and " is not in No. 11.

33. The formula of consecration is different in several MSS.

34. "That they may be to us, and to all those who receive and participate of them, for the sanctification of our souls and bodies." (Etheridge, p. 206).

35. "*Deacon.* Barekmore. Let us pray and beseech of the Lord God, at this great, and awful, and holy moment, for our Fathers and Rulers who are over us this day, in this present life, and who tend and rule the holy Churches of God; our Father Mar Ignatius, our Father Mar Baselios, our Father Mar Gregorios and our Father the Bishop Mar (Name of the Bishop of the diocese) and for all Orthodox Bishops. *Congregation.* Kurie-eleison." (Mar Ivanios, pp. 15, 16).

Gregorios and Baselios are not in several MSS. such as Nos. 48, 49.

The deacon's part in the Litany is not compulsory. If the succeeding prayer is said aloud the deacon's part is not necessary.

36. "Wherefore we offer unto thee, o Lord, this same fearful and unbloody sacrifice for these thine holy places which thou hast glorified by the manifestation of thy Christ and especially for the holy Sion the mother of all churches: and for thine holy church which is in all the world: grant her, o Lord, the rich gifts of thine Holy Spirit.

"Remember also, o Lord, our pious bishops who RIGHTLY divide for us THE WORD OF TRUTH: especially the fathers our patriarchs inar N and our bishop. Grant them, o Lord, an honourable old age: for a long time preserve them TENDING THY PEOPLE in all piety and holiness.

"Remember also, o Lord, this honourable presbytery which is here and in every place and the diaconate in Christ and the residue of all the ministry and every order of the church.

"Remember also, o Lord, my lowliness whom all unworthy as I am thou hast accounted worthy to call upon thee. *Remember not* the sins of MY YOUTH and mine ignorances BUT AFTER THE MULTITUDE OF THY MERCIES THINK THOU UPON ME: for IF THOU WILT BE EXTREME TO MARK iniquity, o LORD, WHO MAY enlure before thee? FOR WITH THEE IS propitiation: visit me and purify me and where SIN ABOUNDETH THERE let thy GRACE MUCH MORE ABOUND.

"Remember also, o Lord, those from among our brethren who are cast into bondage and are in prison and in exile, them that are sick and ill and them that are oppressed and vexed OF EVIL SPIRITS.

"Remember also, o Lord, the air and the rains and the dews and the fruits of the earth: BLESS THE CROWN OF THE YEAR WITH THY GOODNESS, for THE EYES OF ALL hope in THEE AND THOU GIVEST THEIR food in good SEASON: THOU OPENEST THINE all-sufficing HAND AND FILLEST ALL THINGS LIVING WITH good WILL". (Brightman, pp. 89, 90). The manuscript which belonged to the late Mar Gregorios Metropolitan (No. 33) agrees with this.

37. "And deliver us, o Lord God, from all oppression and wrath and straits and all hurt and opposition of wicked men and from all force and violence of devils and from every scourge sent from thee, o God, which is brought upon us by reason of our sins and preserve us in the orthodox faith and the keeping of thine holy lifegiving commandments, us indeed and all that are accounted worthy to stand before thee and to wait for the rich mercies which come from thee: for thou art a God that taketh pleasure in mercy and to thee we offer up glory and to thine only Son and to thy Spirit allholy and good and adorable and lifegiving and consubstantial with thee now and ever and world without end." (Brightman, pp. 90, 91). No. 33 agrees with this.

38. "*Deacon.* Barekmore. Again we commemorate all our faithful brethren, and true Christians who have aforetime bidden and charged us, poor sinners, to remember them

in this hour and at this time, O Lord God Almighty, and for all who being in all manner of grievous temptations, trust to Thee for their salvation and speedy visitation by Thee. Let us beseech the Lord for all the children of this Holy Church, sustained of God, that they be in concord, and prosperity, and that they be exercised in virtue.

"Congregation. Kurie-eleison." (Mar Ivanios, p. 16).

39. "Again vouchsafe to remember those who stand with us and pray with us, our fathers and brethren and those who remain.

"Remember also, o Lord, those who have charged us to remember them in our prayers to thee our God and to each one grant, o Lord, this request which has respect to their salvation.

"Remember also, o Lord, those who have offered the offerings at thine holy altar and those for whom each has offered and those who have wished to offer and could not and those who are in anyone's mind and those who are now mentioned by name." (Brightman, p. 91). No. 33 agrees with this.

40. "Remember, o Lord, all those whom we have mentioned and those whom we have not mentioned: according to the greatness of thy reconciliation afford them the joy of thy salvation, receiving their sacrifices on to the expanses of thine heaven, vouchsafing unto them visitation and succour from thee: strengthen them with thy power and arm them with thy might: for thou art merciful and hast pleasure in mercy. To thee is fitting glory and honour and power with thine only Son and to thy Spirit allholy and good and life-giving and adorable and consubstantial with thee now and ever and world without end." (Brightman, pp 91, 92) No. 33 agrees with this.

41. *"Deacon. Barekmore.* Again we commemorate all faithful Kings and true Christians who in the four quarters of the earth have founded and established churches and monasteries of God, and let us beseech the Lord that the Clergy, the Congregation of the faithful, and all Christendom be exercised in good works.

"Congregation. "Kurie-eleison." (Mar Ivanios, p. 17).

42. "Remember, O Lord, our religious kings and queens: LAY HOLD UPON, SHIELD AND BUCKLER AND STAND

UP TO HELP them, subdue unto them all their enemies and them that fight against them, THAT WE MAY pass A PEACEABLE AND QUIET LIFE IN ALL GODLINESS AND humility." (Brightman, p. 92). No. 33 agrees with this.

43. "FOR THOU art AN HOUSE OF REFUGE of salvation and an helping power and a victorious leader of all them that call unto thee and hope in thee, o Lord, and to thee we offer up glory and to thine only Son and to thy Spirit allholy and good and adorable and lifegiving and consubstantial with thee now and ever and world without end.' (Brightman, p. 92). No. 33 agrees with this.

44. "*Deacon.* Barekmore. And again we commemorate the holy, blessed, and ever Virgin Mother of God, who is worthy to be blessed and glorified of all generations of the earth. With her let us also remember the holy Prophets, the Apostles, the Evangelists, the Martyrs, the Confessors, and the blessed John the Baptist who was the Forerunner of his Master, and the holy and glorious Saint Stephen, chief of Deacons and first of Martyrs, and the exalted St. Peter and St. Paul, the chief of the Apostles, and all the faithful departed Saints, both men and women, and let us beseech the Lord that their prayers may be a stronghold to us.

"*Cong. egations.* Kurie-eleison". (Mar Ivanios, p. 17).

The names Peter and Paul are not in Brightman. (p. 92). These are written on the margin in copy No. 39. The autograph MS of the late Mar Curilos Metropolitan (No. 24) does not contain "that their prayers may be a stronghold to us."

45. "Forasmuch then, o Lord, as thou hast the power of life and of death and art a God of mercies and of love towards mankind, vouchsafe to remember all those who have been well-pleasing unto thee since the world began, holy fathers and forefathers, prophets and apostles and John the forerunner and baptist and S. Stephen chief of deacons and first of martyrs, and the holy and glorious mother of God and evervirgin Mary and all saints.' (Brightman, pp. 92, 93).

No. 33 is as follows:—"Thou, O Lord, hast the power of life and of death and art a God of mercies and of love towards mankind. Remember all those who have been well-pleasing unto thee since the world began, holy fathers, and

forefathers, and prophets, and apostles, and preachers, and evangelists, and martyrs, and confessors, and John the fore-runner and baptist, and the glorious Stephen, the chief of deacons and first of martyrs, and glorious and evervirgin Mary the Mother of God and all saints."

Four classes of people viz. evangelists, preachers, martyrs and confessors, are added here. In the copy of Bishop Middleton, Mary is not in the list, but there is an addition of "holy Fathers" (Hough, p. 636). Mary is not in Peet's MS. too. His MS. has the following addition, "St Peter, and Paul, who were chiefs among the Apostles, and all the faithful and holy dead. Let us pray to the Lord that it may be well with them. Lord have mercy upon us" (Ibid, p. 636). The names Peter and Paul are in No. 7a. (p. 233).

46. Instead of "We remember them, that they may also remember us before thee, and communicate with us in this spiritual sacrifice." Bightman's copy reads:—"We too remember them that they too while they stand before thy lofty tribunal may remember our misery and poverty and may offer unto thee with us this fearful and unbloody sacrifice." (p. 93).

47. "For the rest of the faithful dead" is not in No. 42.

48. "*Deacon.* Barekmore. And again we commemorate those who among the saints have fallen asleep in holiness and are at rest, having kept the one, undefiled, and Apostolic faith and delivered it to us, and the three Œcumenical Synods of Nicæa, Constantinople, and Ephesus, and our glorious and God-fearing and righteous teachers and Fathers present thereat. And we remember James, First Bishop of Jerusalem, holy Apostle and Martyr, and the Saints Ignatius, Clement, Dionysius, Athanasius, Julius, Basilius, Gregorius, Dioscoros, Timotheos, Philoxinos, Anthemos, Ivanios; and the truthful, high towering and illustrious Saint Cyril, who expounded the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus the Messiah, how that God the Word was made flesh; and we commemorate our Patriarch Mar Severios, the crown of the Syrians, and the reasonable mouthpiece, pillar and teacher of the whole Church of God, the pasture full of flowers, who always preached that Mary is undoubtedly the Mother of God; and as well our righteous and holy Father Jacob Burdana, who maintained the Orthodox Faith, and Mar Ephreim, Mar Jacob, Mar Isaac, Mar Balai, and Moran Mar Barsowma, and Mar Simon Stilite the chief among mourners, and Mar Abahai

the chosen one, and all those who, with them, before them and after them, kept the one, orthodox, and undefiled faith and delivered it to us. Let us beseech the Lord that their prayers may be a stronghold for us.

"Congregation. Kurie-eleison". (Mar Ivanios, p.18).

Mar Isaac, and Mar Balai are not named in the copies of the Diakonika belonging to the most Rev. Paulos Mar Athanasius Metropolitan (No. 25), the late Mar Curilos Metropolitan (No. 24) and others. In No. 30 there is an additional name Mathai. "The crown of the Syrians" and "pasture full of flowers, who always preached that Mary is undoubtedly the Mother of God" are not in Nos. 24, and 39. There is an additional name Enstathius in Brightman's copy while twelve names, Clement, Julius, Dioscoros, Philoxinos, Anthemos, Severios, Jacob Burdana, Isaac, Balai, Barsowma, Simon, and Abahai are not in it. (pp. 93, 94). "That their prayers may be a stronghold for us" is not in Nos. 14, and 24.

49. "Remember also, o Lord, our holy bishops who have gone to their rest aforetime, who interpreted for us the word of truth, who from James the archbishop and apostle and martyr even to this day have preached to us the orthodox word of truth in thine holy church." (Brightman, pp. 93, 94). No. 33 agrees with this.

50. "By whose prayers and supplications grant thy peace to thy Church." (Brightman, p. 94).

51. *"Deacon. Barekmore.* Again we commemorate all the faithful who from this holy sanctuary, and from this church, and from this place and all places, have aforetime departed, and fallen asleep in the orthodox faith, and are at rest, and have attained unto Thee, in the orthodox faith, O Lord, God of all spirits and of all flesh. Let us pray and beseech our God the Messiah, Who hath received their souls and spirits unto Himself, that He make them by His abundant mercy, worthy of the pardon of their offences and remission of their sins; and gather us and them unto His heavenly Kingdom: and let us say aloud Kurie-eleison three times.

"Congregation. Kurie-eleison. Kurie-eleison. Kurie-eleison." (Mar Ivanios, p. 19).

52. "Remember, o Lord, the orthodox presbyters who have gone to their rest aforetime, deacons, subdeacons, singers,

"Congregation. Our Lord and Our God, we bow down our heads before Thee." (Mar Ivanios, p. 22)

56. Instead of "the life-giving mysteries" several MSS. read "body and blood of Christ." (Brightman, pp. 100, 101)

57. *"Congregation.* Lord, have compassion and bless us.

Priest. (Lifting up the Paten)." (Mar Ivanios, p. 23)

58. The copies of Bar Kepha, Bar Salib and many others read :—"The one Father is holy, the one Son is holy, the one Spirit is holy." So it is in the copy filed by the late Joseph Mar Dionysius Metropolitan in court. (In the Royal Court of Final Appeal, Vol. III, p. 100). "None other holy" is an unreasonable innovation. According to this the people retort to the priest's warning saying what you say is absurd. The priest does not mean that the Eucharist is administered only to those who have attained sinless perfection. This retort therefore is absurd. By saying God is Holy the people give their assent to what the priest says—since God is Holy, no one who is leading an unholy life has any right to participate in this holy Eucharist.

59. "Priest (Places the Paten back in its place and lifts up the Chalice)

"Congregation. Praise be to the one Father, to the Son, and to the living and Holy Spirit, for ever and ever. Amen." (Mar Ivanios, p. 23.

THIRD PART

Concluding Service

Introductory Remarks

This Concluding Service was gradually added after the 12th century. During the days of Bar Kepha and Bar Salib there were after the priest's words, "Holy things are given to the holy" etc., and the people's response, a couple of short prayers, one a thanksgiving prayer, "We thank Thee" etc. and the other, a prayer of the imposition of hands, "O great and wonderful God" etc.

"After the reception," James of Edessa says, "they have commanded that there be an acknowledgment and thanksgiving for that they have been accounted worthy of the communion of the body and blood. And there should be also a prayer and an imposition of the hand." (Brightman, p. 492) That the reception according to him was just after the words, "Holy things.....are given to the holy" is shown already.

In all the alternative anaphoræ used by the Jacobites we find only a prayer of thanksgiving and a prayer of the imposition of the hand. Vide the anaphoræ of Peter, "The twelve holy apostles," Mar Dionysius, and Mar Xystus, (Howard, pp. 276, 289, 300, 309). The elaborate Concluding Service attached to the modern anaphora of St. James has no alternative forms in the other anaphoræ. Concluding Service as well as the Pro-anaphora is common to all. For at the time of the composition of those alternative anaphoræ there was no Concluding Service except those two prayers which we find in Bar Kepha and Bar Salib.

After those two prayers the deacon dismisses the people according to Bar Kepha and Bar Salib.

Bar Salib says:—

ܡܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܠܡܐ ܐܢܝܢ ܡܡܠܟܐ ܐܒ ܕܡܠܟܐ
 ܡܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܠܡܐ ܐܢܝܢ ܡܡܠܟܐ ܐܒ ܕܡܠܟܐ
 ܡܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܠܡܐ ܐܢܝܢ ܡܡܠܟܐ ܐܒ ܕܡܠܟܐ
 ܡܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܠܡܐ ܐܢܝܢ ܡܡܠܟܐ ܐܒ ܕܡܠܟܐ
 ܡܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܠܡܐ ܐܢܝܢ ܡܡܠܟܐ ܐܒ ܕܡܠܟܐ

"The deacon after the manner of the Easterns says, Go in peace, and the people say, We go as you ordered us in the name of our Lord and God."

"The deacon," according to James of Edessa too, "should dismiss them that they may go in peace." (Brightman, p. 492).

Several modern MSS. of the Jacobite liturgy end with the prayer "O great and wonderful God" etc; while the

autograph MSS. of the late Mar Curilos Metropolitan (Nos. 22, 23) end with a previous prayer, "Glory to thee, Glory to thee" etc. It may be, the custom was to say either of these prayers.

According to the primitive liturgies, such as the Orthodox "St. James," Orthodox "St. Mark," liturgy of St. Clement and the Abyssinian liturgy, it is the deacon that dismisses the people saying, "Go in peace." (Neale, pp. 29, 63, 64, 91, Brightman, p. 244). The liturgy as well as the Diakonika of the Jacobites, who joined the Roman Church during the end of the 18th century (Nos. 13, 14), makes the deacon say, "Go in peace." Let me quote the Canons of the Jacobite Church composed by Bar Hebraeus, 13th century, (Ch. IV. 7.):

ܠܠܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܚܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܚܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܚܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܚܝܬܝܢ
ܠܠܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܚܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܚܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܚܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܚܝܬܝܢ
ܠܠܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܚܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܚܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܚܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܚܝܬܝܢ
ܠܠܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܚܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܚܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܚܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܚܝܬܝܢ

"After receiving the Holy Eucharist and after the thanksgiving and the prayer of the imposition of the hand the deacon dismisses the people." The prayer of the imposition of the hand is the one which follows the deacon's exhortation to the people to bend their necks; the reference here is to the prayer, "O great and wonderful God" etc.

In several modern manuscripts of the Jacobite "St. James" also we find that the deacon dismisses the people (Nos. 38, 50, 54, 59, 68, 70, 84, 98, 128), and also in the MS. filed in the Court by the late Joseph Mar Dionysius. (In the Royal Court of Final Appeal, Vol. III, p. 102)

In several MSS. such as that of the late Mar Curilos Metropolitan (No. 21,) and the late Yoyakim Mar Ivanios Metropolitan (No. 34), the service is brought to a close after the prayer "O great and wonderful God" etc. In the late Patriarch Abdulla's MS. and some others it is said after this prayer that the service is closed; nevertheless the priest dismisses the people after certain prayers.

The Text.

Copies of Bar Kepha
and Bar Salib.

The Patriarch Abdulla's MS.

Priest. Glory be to the
Father etc.

Priest. The one Holy Father
is with us, who formed the world
by his goodness.

People. Amen.

Priest. The one Holy Son is
with us, who saved us by the pre-
cious suffering of his person.

People. Amen.

Priest. The one Holy Spirit is
with us, who is the finisher and
perfector of everything that is and
hath been. Blessed be the name
of the Lord from everlasting to
everlasting. (60).

Bar Salib:— *Deacon.*
By the resurrection etc.
and Psalms.

Priest makes his
communion and commu-
nicates those in the sanc-
tuary and the people.

(61)

Priest. Make us worthy, O
Lord God, that our bodies may
be made holy by thy holy body,
and our souls made bright by thy
propitiatory blood: and may it
be for the pardon of our offences
and for the remission of our sins;
O our Lord and our God for
ever.

*And he ascends the step, and
taking the Qurbana from the cup
in the spoon he says: thee I hold,
who holdest the extremities of the
universe, thee I grasp, who rulest
the depths; thee who art God I*

*put into my mouth : by
I be delivered from the
able fire, and be made m
remission of sins, like
woman and the thief, C
and our God for evermo*

(63).

*And when he drinks
he says, By the living
giving blood, which wa
the cross, may my offen
piated and my sins re
Jesus, the Word of
came into the world for
vation, for ever and eve*

*When he administers
nunion to a priest he sa*

*The propitiatory coal
body and blood of Chris
is given to an illustriou*

*If a monk of St. Ant
.....to a mo
Antony's order, a stewa
for the pardon of his of
for the remission of his*

*If a deacon
.....to-a modest d*

(68)

*Priest. (And the pr
the paten in his right i
the cup in his left han
he turns to the right, i
mysteries are going fort
From thy propitiatory
there come down pard
servants, O Son of God,
for cur salvation, and
for our resurrection a
novation of our race for*

People. Amen.

Priest. Stretch forth thy invisible right hand, O Lord God, and bless this congregation of thy worshippers, who receive thy precious body and blood for the pardon of offences and for the remission of sins, and for confidence before thee, O our Lord and our God for ever.

People. Amen.

Priest. (Coming down from the steps) May the love of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ be upon those who bear these holy things; and upon those who give them; and upon those who receive them; and upon all who have laboured and have participated and are participating in them. May the blessing of God be upon us and upon them in both worlds for ever. (70).

(71).

Priest. (Communicating the people) To true believers for the pardon of offences and for the remission of sins in both worlds (72) for ever and ever.

(73)

The recipient. Amen.

Priest. Glory to thee, Glory to thee, glory to thee, O our Lord and our God for ever. O our Lord Jesus Christ, let not thy holy body which we have eaten, and thy pardoning blood which we have drunk be unto us for judgment and for vengeance; but for the life and salvation of us all. And have mercy upon us. (74).

(75)

Deacon. After receiving these holy mysteries let us stand well.

Priest. We thank thee O Lord our God and confess thee, etc.

Priest. (The thanksgiving) We thank thee, O Lord, for the abundance of thy mercies, whereby we have been made worthy to partake of thy heavenly table. O my Lord, let us not be condemned for our participation of thy holy mysteries; but may we be partakers of thy Holy Spirit: may we find a portion and inheritance with all the righteous who have been from the beginning: and we offer up praise and thanksgiving to thee, and to thy Only begotten Son, and to thy allholy, and good, and adorable, and life-making, and consubstantial Spirit, now and evermore.

People. Amen.

Priest. Peace be unto you.

People. And with thy spirit.

Deacon. Let us bow our heads, etc.

Deacon. After receiving these holy mysteries that have been dispensed, (76) let us again bow our heads before the merciful Lord.

(77)

Priest. O great and wonderful God, etc.

Priest. O great and wonderful God, who for the salvation of our human race didst bow the heavens and come down, pity us and have mercy upon us, so that we may continually glorify thee, and God the Father, who begat thee, and thy Spirit, allholy, good, adorable, life-making, and consubstantial, now and at all times for ever.

People. Amen.

End according to Bar
Kepha.

(Here ends the liturgy of Mar
James, the brother of our Lord.

May his prayers be with us.
Amen.)

Bar Salib:—

People. Have mercy
upon us.

Deacon. (after the
manner of the Easterns
says,) Go in peace.

People. We go as you
ordered us in the name of
our Lord and God.

(78).

Priest. Huthoma.

(79).

Priest. Go in peace, our brethren and beloved, when we commend you to the grace and blessing of the holy and glorious Trinity, with the Viaticum and blessings which ye have received from the propitiatory altar of the Lord, the remote, and the near, the living with the dead, redeemed by the victorious cross of the Lord, and signed with the mark of the holy Baptism. That altar will expiate your offences and remit your delinquencies, and give rest to the souls of your departed (friends). And I, a weak and sinful servant, shall procure pity and help through your prayers. Go in peace, rejoicing and exulting, and pray for me for ever.

(80).

Notes

60. "The holy Father be with us. Amen. The one Holy Son be with us. Amen. The one Holy Spirit be with us. Blessed be the name of our Lord in heaven and in earth for ever. Amen." This is the form we find in several copies.

The MS. of Etheridge reads:—"In thee, O Lord, do we truly and verily believe, even as the holy and universal church in thee believeth, that thou art one holy Father, to whom be glory, Amen! One holy Son, to whom be praise, Amen! One Holy Spirit, to whom be glory and thanksgiving for ever, Amen!" (p. 214).

61. "*People.* Let us remember at Qurbanas and prayers our fathers, who while on earth taught us to be the children of God. The Son of God will grant them rest with the righteous and with the sanctified in the Kingdom that passeth not away. Lord have mercy and help us.

"Priest covers the mysteries, puts spoon on the plate, then descends from the step, offers incense singing *Basmalka*." (No. 11).

Instead of this a prayer beginning with "By the resurrection of Christ the King" is to be said according to Bar Salib and the autograph MS. of the late Mar Gregorios Metropolitan (No. 32) and several others. (Nos. 38, 42, 44, 46, 59, 67, 76, 118, 124). In the copies of the Syrian Uniats (No. 12), the late Mar Curilos Metropolitan (No. 23), Most Rev. Mar Athanasius Metropolitan (No. 25), and others, there is nothing here for the deacon or the people to recite.

62. This is not in Etheridge's copy.

63. "When he communicates he says, The propitiatory coal of the body and blood of Christ our God is given to his sinful servant for the propitiation of offences and the remission of sins, in both worlds, for ever and ever. Amen". (No. 11, p. 79).

64. This prayer is not in Etheridge's copy. (p. 215).

65. Bishop Middleton's copy reads, "The propitiatory particle of the body and blood of Christ" etc. (Hough, p. 641). Etheridge's copy:—"The body and blood of our Lord Jesu Meshicha", etc. (p. 215).

66. "in both worlds." (No. 11).

67. This is not in Etheridge's copy.

68. "*Congregation*. He Who is the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, is to be adored, and praised. Praise be to Him from the beginning and from generation to generation. Halleluiah". (Mar Ivanios, p. 27).

69. This is not in Etheridge's copy. (p. 215).

70. Neither of these prayers is in Etheridge's copy. (p. 215).

71. "*Congregation*. Lord, have mercy on us. Lord, have mercy on us. Give ear, O Lord, and have mercy on us. Praise be to Thee, O Lord. Praise be to Thee, O Lord. Praise be to Thee, Our Eternal Hope. Barekemore. Glory be to God on High, and exaltation to His Mother, and crowns of praise to the Martyrs, and mercy and grace to the departed. Halleluiah". (Mar Ivanios, p. 28).

This is not in the copies of the late Mar Curilos Metropolitan (No. 21), the late Mar Severios Metropolitan (No. 31) and many others.

72. Copies differ. Brightman's copy, as well as that of Howard, does not contain "in both worlds." (B., p. 104, H., p. 248).

73. During the 10th century consecrated bread was given into the recipient's hand. Moses Bar Kepha says,

ܡܨܝܚܐ ܕܡܝܨܝܚܐ ܕܡܝܨܝܚܐ ܕܡܝܨܝܚܐ
 ܕܡܝܨܝܚܐ ܕܡܝܨܝܚܐ ܕܡܝܨܝܚܐ ܕܡܝܨܝܚܐ
 ܕܡܝܨܝܚܐ ܕܡܝܨܝܚܐ ܕܡܝܨܝܚܐ ܕܡܝܨܝܚܐ

"The recipient stretches out his right hand supported by the left. It is for the honour of the gift which is given, the pledge of immortal life."

74. This is not in Etheridge's copy, but there is a similar prayer. (p. 215).

75. According to the autograph MSS. of the late Mar Curilos Metropolitan (Nos. 22, 23) the service is closed here. No. 11 gives the following:—"Congregation. All the earth shall bow down Before thee, and adore thee. Every tongue

shall praise thy Holy Name. For thou art the Raiser of the dead and the Good Hope of those who are enclosed in the grave. And chiefly we thank thee, O Lord, and give thanks for thy mercy towards us."

76. "After receiving these holy mysteries that have been dispensed" is not in Etheridge's copy. (p. 105).

77. "*Congregation.* Our Lord and our God, we bow our heads before Thee." (Mar Ivanios, p. 29).

78. According to a copy of the late Mar Curilos Metropolitan (No. 21) and that of Howard (No. 4) the service is closed here.

According to the copy No. 121 :—

"*Deacon.* Barekmore.

Priest. O Jesus bless us ;
O Creator preserve us ;
Show us the way of life
O Lord and Sustainer.

Deacon. By the prayers of Mary who brought thee forth and of all the saints."

The service is closed.

According to the liturgy of the Maronite Uniats :—

"*People.* Amen.

"*Deacon.* Give thy blessing, my Lord.

"*Priest.* May all be blessed and preserved."

(Deacon recites Psalm XXXIV).

The service is closed (Etheridge, pp. 215, 216).

The primitive practice, as already said, was that the deacon should dismiss the people saying, "Go in peace."

79. "*Priest.* Placing the right hand on the throne, and seizing power makes the sign of the cross on either side. Making the sign of the cross three times on the people says this commendation." (No. 11).

80. "May the Lord accept thy Qurbana and help us by thy prayers." (Mar Ivanios, p. 31).

CHAPTER III

AN APPROXIMATE SIXTH CENTURY FORM OF
ST. JAMES' LITURGY

That the Liturgy of St. James was originally written in Greek for the use of the Christians of Jerusalem, and that it "spread to Antioch and displaced the older liturgy of that city and, starting out from that centre became the rite of the whole Patriarchate, that is of Western Syrian" and was afterwards "translated into Syriac for use in villages" are points which cannot be seriously questioned. (*The Mass*, Fortescue, pp. 79, 84.)

Now there are two liturgies which go by this name—one in Greek used by the Orthodox Eastern Church* and another in Syriac used by the Jacobite Syrians. These are at present very different. The differences of course, are due to the fact that the Orthodox and the Jacobites made corrections and additions as each thought it necessary. Though the Monophysite split took place in the middle of the 5th century, seceders formed themselves into an organized church only in the middle of the sixth century, under Jacob Baradius, and they subsequently called themselves Jacobites after the name of this Jacob. (*Christian Worship*, Duchesne, p. 65.)

Since the Jacobites were engaged in a very extraordinary strife with the Orthodox regarding the divine and human natures of Christ, both the parties were concentrating all their energies on this one point, and therefore neither the Orthodox nor the Jacobites in the 6th century or thereabout were likely to have made many changes in the liturgy.

There is, therefore, no gainsaying the fact that during the sixth century or the first half of the sixth century the St. James' Liturgy used by the Orthodox and the Jacobites was the same. Certainly there was a considerable variety of local usage. The differences we find in the Orthodox and the Jacobite liturgies of St. James, were probably made after the middle or even after the close of the sixth century.

* "The Melkites (Orthodox) of Syria used the Liturgy of St. James in Greek (or more often in Syriac) till the 13th century..... Among the Orthodox it is now only used in Greek at Zakynthos once a year on 23rd October (St. James' Feast) and on the Sunday after Christmas at Jerusalem," (*The Mass*, Fortescue, p. 84.)

The portions which are common to the Jacobite "St. James" and Orthodox "St. James" are taken. That which is common need not necessarily be primitive. For new prayers composed by one section are often copied by others. It has also happened that some evangelical primitive prayers are omitted by one section and retained by the other. Anyhow what is given below is only an approximate sixth century liturgy.

The Text.

Holy God, Holy and mighty, Holy and immortal, have mercy upon us.*

Lessons

Congregation. Kurie-eleison.

Nicene Creed.

(Here begins the *Anaphora* of Mar James according to the Jacobite Liturgy.)

God and Master of all things, make us, the unworthy, O lover of men, worthy of this hour, that we, remaining pure from all guile and all hypocrisy, may be united together by the bond of peace and love through thine only begotten Son, and Saviour Jesus Christ: with whom to thee is fitting glory, and honour, and dominion, with thy Spirit, allholy and good and adorable, life-giving, and consubstantial with thee, now and for ever.

Priest. Peace be with all.

People. And with thy spirit.

Deacon. Let us kiss one another with an holy kiss. Let us bow our heads to the Lord.

Priest. Thou who alone art Lord and merciful God, on them that bow down their necks before thee, send forth thy good grace: and bless us with every spiritual blessing, thou who dwellest on high, and regardest the things that are humble.

Priest. O God, who through thy great and ineffable love to man didst send thine only begotten Son into the world,

* That this is the primitive form of Trisagion is admitted on all hands. Jacobite Trisagion is different. (Vide supra, p. 31).

that he might turn back again the sheep that had gone astray ; turn not back us sinners, for we trust not in our own righteousness, but in thy mercy. We supplicate and beseech thy goodness that this mystery wrought for our salvation may not be for condemnation to thy people, but for the blotting out of sin, for the well-pleasing of thee and of thine only begotten Son.

Deacon. Let us stand with piety ; Let us stand with the fear of God. Let us attend to the holy Anaphora.

Priest. The mercy of peace, the sacrifice of praise.

(Here begins the *Anaphora* of Mar James according to the Orthodox liturgy).

Priest. The love of the Lord and Father, the grace of the Lord and Son, communion and gift of the Holy Ghost, be with us all.*

People. And with thy spirit.

Priest. Lift we up our mind and our hearts.

People. It is meet and right.

Priest. It is very meet and right to worship thee whom heavenish hosts and all their powers : the sun and moon and all the choir of the stars : the earth, the sea, and all that is in them, and the first-born whose names are inscribed in the heavenly Jerusalem : the angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principalities, virtues and the tremendous powers ; the Cherubim of many eyes, and the six winged Seraphim who covering their faces, and their feet, fly, crying one to the other, with ceaseless tongues and perpetual doxologies, the triumphal hymn to the majesty of thy glory, singing with a loud voice, crying, praising, vociferating, and saying,

Choir. Holy, Holy, Holy Lord of Sabaoth ; heaven and earth are full of thy glory. Hosanna in the highest : blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.

Priest. When he, the sinless one, of His own will, prepared to accept death for us, sinners, (the priest takes the bread into his hand) he took bread in his holy hands and gave thanks and hallowed and brake and gave to his apostles saying, Take, eat : this is my body which is broken for you, for the remission of sins.†

* Jacobite liturgy : "you all." Orthodox : "us all."

† Vide chapter XII.

People. Amen.

Priest. Likewise also the cup, he gave thanks and blessed and gave to his apostles saying, Drink ye all of this: this is my blood which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins.*

People. Amen.

Priest. Do this in remembrance of me. For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye set forth the death of the Son of Man, and confess his resurrection, till he come.

People. We set forth thy death, O Lord, and confess thy resurrection.

Priest. We commemorate, O Lord, thy death and thy resurrection on the third day, and thy ascension into heaven and thy session on the right hand of God the Father, and also thy second coming when thou shalt judge the world and render to every man according to his works. Therefore, we offer unto thee this bloodless sacrifice. Deal not with us according to our sins nor reward us according to our iniquities: but according to thine abundant mercies blot out the sins of thy servants; for thy people and thy Church supplicate thee saying, have mercy upon us, O God the Father almighty.

Have mercy on us, O God the Father, and send upon us, and upon these offerings thy most Holy Ghost, the Lord sharer of the throne and of the kingdom with thee and the Son, consubstantial and co-eternal who spake in thy Old and New Testaments; who descended in the form of a dove on our Lord Jesus Christ in the river Jordan, who descended upon the apostles in the likeness of fiery tongues in the upper room:

so that he may come down and make this bread the holy body of thy Christ.†

People. Amen.

Priest. and this cup the precious blood of thy Christ.

People. Amen.

Priest. so that they may be for the sanctification of the souls and bodies, for bringing forth good works, for the confir-

* Vide chapter XII

† It is not possible to find out the primitive form here; because both the Jacobites and the Orthodox have made radical changes. Vide Chapter X.

mation of the holy Church, which thou hast founded upon the rock of faith, that the gates of hell may not prevail against it.

Priest. O God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who art blessed by the Cherubim and hallowed by the Seraphim and extolled by thousand thousands, and ten thousand times ten thousand armies of holy angels, grant us, with boldness, with a pure heart, with a face unashamed, to dare to call upon thee, and to say

Our Father which art in heaven etc.....

Priest. Yea O Lord our God, lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil one.

People. Amen.

Priest. Peace to all.

People. And with thy spirit.

Deacon. Let us bow our heads to the Lord.

People. To thee O Lord.

Priest. To thee, O Lord, we thy servants have bowed our necks awaiting the rich mercies which come from thee. Send down thy rich blessings and sanctify our souls, bodies, and spirits, that we may become worthy partakers of the body and blood of Christ. For thou art to be worshipped and glorified and thine only begotten Son and thy most Holy Spirit now and ever.

People. Amen.

Priest. The grace of the Holy Trinity shall be with us† all.

People. And with thy spirit.

Deacon. With the fear of God let us attend.

Priest. Holy things for holy persons.

CHAPTER IV

AN APPROXIMATE SIXTH CENTURY FORM OF ST. MARK'S LITURGY.

The Egyptian liturgy is named after St. Mark, who is supposed to have founded that Church. "Religious unity in Egypt," says Mgr. Duchesne, "was broken up after the

† Jacobite liturgy : " You all." Orthodox : " Us all."

condemnation of the Patriarch Dioscorus by the Council of Chalcedon....., This division did not immediately make itself apparent in the sphere of worship, both heretics and orthodox continuing to follow the ancient use of Alexandria." (p. 79) And again :—"The Greek liturgy of St. Mark, of which three texts are known, of the twelfth century and onwards. It doubtless was subject to many Byzantine revisions, but the essential parts agree with the style and often with the tenor of the best texts which have reached us from other sources. There is no doubt that it is of great antiquity, going back at latest to the 5th century." (p. 80).

There is a vast difference between the Orthodox use and the Coptic use of St. Mark.

"It will be seen from this," says Dr. Fortescue, "how strongly Byzantinized the Greek liturgy of St. Mark is. For the pure Egyptian rite we must always turn to the Coptic form." (*The Mass*, p. 96).

All that is said about the liturgy of St. James applies to this liturgy too. The differences we find were probably made after the 6th century.

The Text

I believe in God the Father etc.

Priest. It is meet and right, holy and becoming and advantageous to our souls, Lord God, Father almighty, to worship thee, to hymn thee, to give thanks to thee, both night and day, with unceasing lips, and unsilenced heart : thee who madest the heavens and the things that are in the heavens, the earth and the things that are in the earth, the seas, the fountains, the rivers, the lakes, and all things that are in them : thee who didst make man after thine own image and likeness. All which things thou hast done by thy Wisdom, the true Light, thine only begotten Son, our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, by whom rendering thanks to thee with himself and the Holy Ghost, we offer to thee, this reasonable and unbloody sacrifice, which all nations offer to thee from the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same ; from the north and the south ; for thy name is great among the gentiles and in every place incense is offered unto thy name and a pure sacrifice,

We pray and beseech thee O lover of men: Remember, O Lord, the holy and only catholic and apostolic Church, which is from one end of the world to the other, all peoples and all thy flocks. Vouchsafe to our hearts the peace which is from heaven, and also bestow on us the peace of this life. The king, the armies, the princes, the councillors, the multitudes, our neighbours, our comings in and our goings out, set in order in all peace. O king of peace, grant us thy peace: possess us O God, for beside thee we know none other: we are called by thy name: quicken all our souls, let not the death of sins have dominion over us, nor over all thy people.

Those of thy people that are sick, visit them in mercies and compassions, heal them: take from them and from us all sickness and infirmity, drive away from them the spirit of weakness: raise up again them that are lying in long sickness; heal them that are vexed of unclean spirits, them that are in prisons or in mines or in bitter slavery, have mercy on all, free all: for it is thou that loosest them that are bound and settest up them that are cast down, the hope of the hopeless, the help of the helpless, the harbour of the tempest-tossed. To every soul that is in affliction and that is oppressed, give mercy, give refreshment. And for us also, O Lord, heal the diseases of our souls, cure those of our bodies, O physician of our souls and bodies: Overseer of all flesh, visit us with thy salvation.

To our brethren that have gone abroad or who are minded to go, in all places, give a fair journey, whether by land or rivers, or lakes or highways, or in whatever way they may be travelling, restore them everywhere to a tranquil harbour, to a safe harbour: vouchsafe to be their fellow voyager and a fellow-traveller. Give them back to their friends, rejoicing to the rejoicing, healthful to the healthful. And preserve, O Lord, to the end, our sojourning also in this life, without harm and without storm.

Raise up the waters of the river to their full measure; rejoice and renew the face of the earth; water her furrows, multiply her increase. Bless also now, O Lord, the crown of the year with thy goodness, for the sake of the poor of thy people, for the sake of the widow and the orphan, for the proselyte, and for the sake of us all who hope in thee and supplicate thine holy name: for the eyes of all wait upon thee, and thou givest them their meat in due season. Thou that givest

meat to all flesh, fill our hearts with joy and gladness, that we always, having sufficiency in all things, may abound unto every good work.

Thy servant the king of the land preserve in peace. Speak to his heart for the sake of the peace of thy holy catholic and apostolic Church. Give rest to our fathers and brethren who are fallen asleep, remembering our fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, and confessors.

The sacrifices, the oblations, the thank-offerings of them that offer honour and glory to thine holy name, receive upon thy altar in heaven by thy archangelic ministry; as thou didst receive the gifts of thy righteous Abel and the sacrifice of our Father Abraham and the two mites of the widow. Give to them instead of things earthly, things heavenly; instead of things temporal, things eternal.

Our patriarch N. or M. preserve in safety for many years in peaceful times fulfilling thy holy pontificate, which thou hast committed unto him according to thy holy and blessed will, rightly dividing the word of truth.

Remember the orthodox bishops in all places, presbyters, deacons, sub-deacons, readers, singers, monks, virgins, widows, laics.

Remember, O Lord, the holy city and every city and region.

Bless, O Lord, our congregations. Root out idolatry wholly from the world: bruise satan and all his power and wickedness beneath our feet. The enemies of our Church, O Lord, as at all times, so now also humble. Lay bare their pride, speedily make manifest their weakness; bring to nought their plots and their villany which they employ against us. Arise, O Lord, and let all thine enemies be scattered, and let all them that hate thy holy name flee backward. Let thy people be in blessings unto thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand doing thy will.

Deacon. Ye that are sitting stand up.

Priest. Loose them that are bound, deliver them that are in straits, satisfy the hungry, and comfort the pusillanimous, raise the fallen, establish those that are wavering, direct all into the way of salvation, unite them to thy people; and preserve us from our iniquities, being in all things our guard and our defender.

Deacon. To the east.

Priest. Thou art above every power, every dominion, every principality, every virtue, and every name that is named not only in this world but also in that which is to come : for before thee stand thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand armies of holy angels and archangels. Before thee stand thy two most honourable creatures, the cherubim, with many eyes, and seraphim with six wings, with twain thereof they cover their feet, with twain their faces, and with twain they do fly : and say,

People. Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord.

Priest. Verily heaven and earth are full of thine holy glory, through our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ : fulfil also, O God, this sacrifice with thy heavenly blessing, by the coming down on it of thy Holy Ghost. For the Lord our God and universal King, Jesus Christ, in the night wherein he surrendered himself to undergo death for our sins, took bread in his holy pure and spotless hands, looked up to thee his own Father, our God and the God of all, and gave thanks, and blessed, and hallowed, and brake and distributed to his holy and blessed disciples and apostles, saying, Take, eat; for this is my body which is broken for you, and given for the remission of sins.

And likewise also the cup after supper, he mingled it with wine and water, he gave thanks, he blessed, he distributed it to his holy and blessed apostles and disciples, saying, Drink ye all of this ; this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for the remission of sins. Do this in memory of me. For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye show forth my death and confess my resurrection, till I come.

O almighty Lord, announcing the death of thine only begotten Son, our Lord, God, and Saviour Jesus Christ, and confessing his blessed resurrection, and his ascension into heaven and his session on thy right hand, and looking for his second fearful advent, when he shall come to judge the world in righteousness and render to every man according to his works :

We have set before thee thine own gifts, of thine own, O our holy Father.

Hear, O Lord, the prayer of thy people, give heed unto the groan of thy servants, nor by reason of my own sins and

the defilements of my heart, deprive thy people of the descent of thine Holy Spirit. For thy people and thy church beseech thee saying have mercy upon us, O God, the Father almighty, and send down from thine holy height, and from heaven thy dwelling place, and from thy infinite bosom, the Paraclete thine Holy Spirit, who is the giver of life, who spake in the law and the prophets and apostles, who is everywhere, who filleth all places and no place containeth him : * - and of his own will after thy good pleasure, works sanctification on those in whom he delighteth, not as a minister ; one in his nature, manifold in his operations, fountain of the divine graces, consubstantial with thee, proceeding from thee, fellow-sharer in the throne of thy kingdom, with thine only begotten Son our Lord, and God and Saviour, Jesus Christ : send him down upon us thy servants and upon these loaves and on these cups that he may make this bread the body and this cup the blood of the New Testament of our Lord and God and Saviour and universal King, Jesus Christ : † that they may be to all of us who participate in them for faith, for healing, for the renovation of soul and body, for the glory of thy holy name, for the remission of sins, that thy most holy name may here, as also in every place, be hallowed and blessed and exalted with Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost.

People. Our Father etc.

Priest. Yea, we beseech thee, Lord, lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil one.

(A prayer which the priest says alone when he would receive of the holy mysteries.)

Allholy and consubstantial and undivided and unspeakable Trinity, grant me to receive this holy bread unto life and not unto condemnation and grant me to bring forth fruit wellpleasing unto thee, that evidently pleasing thee I may live in thee doing thy commandments, calling upon thee, Father, making bold and invoking thy kingdom and thy will : and hallowed also be thy name in me : for mighty art thou in all things and blessed. Thine is the glory for ever Amen. ‡

When he gives the communion to any one he saith, "the holy body."

When he gives the chalice he saith, "precious blood of our Lord."

* "No place containeth Him" is dropped by the Orthodox. (Vide ch. X.)

† This is not at all primitive. (Vide ch. VIII.)

‡ This prayer is dropped by the Orthodox. (Vide ch. VII.)

CHAPTER V

INVOCATION OF SAINTS

From this chapter forward I purpose to make a study of liturgies in connection with certain doctrines, such as the invocation of saints.

Invocation of Saints and the Liturgy of St. James.

In the Orthodox liturgy of St. James there is absolutely no invocation of saints. Were it in the primitive liturgy of St. James, the Orthodox, who believed in its efficacy, would by no means have omitted it. It is, therefore, more than evident that there was no invocation of saints in the liturgy of St. James during the sixth century.

But in the universal litany given in the pro-anaphoral service attached to the Orthodox "St. James" there is an invocation of saints. Different pro-anaphoral services are added to the liturgy of St. James both by the Orthodox and the Jacobites. That they are later additions is admitted on all hands. The portion referred to is this:—"Let us commemorate.....Mary, with all the saints together, that we may obtain mercy through their prayers and intercessions." (Neale, p. 43)

Strictly speaking this is no invocation of saints—they are not at all invoked. We can trace the origin of even this.

There is a litany common to the Orthodox "St. James" and the liturgy of St. Chrysostom. The portion common to both is given below.

"Deacon. In peace let us make our supplications to the Lord.

"People. Lord have mercy. (This according to "St. Chrysostom" is to be repeated at the end of every petition.)

"Deacon. For the peace that is from above, and for the salvation of our souls, let us make our supplications to the Lord. (Each clause according to "St. James" ends in the same way.)

"For the peace of the whole world, and the unity (stability) of all the holy Churches of God."

"St. Chrysostom" closes the litany as follows :—

"Commemorating the all-holy, spotless, excellently laudable, and glorious Lady, the Mother of God and Ever-Virgin Mary, with All Saints, let us commend ourselves and each other and all our life to Christ our God." (Neale, pp. 92,93)

Orthodox "St. James" closes the litany as follows :—

"Let us commemorate the most holy, spotless, exceedingly glorious, blessed Lady, the Mother of God and Ever-Virgin Mary, with all the Saints together, that we may obtain mercy through their prayers and intercessions." (Neale, pp. 42,43)

"That we may obtain mercy through their prayers and intercessions," is evidently a later addition. Commemoration grew up into invocation.

Invocation of Saints and St. Mark's Liturgy.

In the Jacobite "St. Mark" there is no invocation of saints in its usual form ; but there are two prayers in which this idea occurs.

"May we be accounted worthy to hear and to do thine holy gospels through the prayers of thy saints." (Brightman, p. 155)

"By the intercession of.....St. Mary and the prayers and the supplications of the holy archangels..... and St. John.....and the holy patriarch Severus..... through whose prayers and supplications vouchsafe us, o our master, to attain unto a part and a lot with them in the kingdom of heaven." (Ibid., pp. 187, 188)

In the Orthodox Liturgy of St. Mark there is no trace whatever of the invocation of saints. The reason probably is that this liturgy has been obsolete since the time of Theodore Balsamon, twelfth century. (Neale, p. xx)

Now it is abundantly evident that the sixth century liturgy of St. Mark did not contain any trace whatever of the invocation of saints. But during the dark night of the middle ages something that verges on to it, crept into St. Mark's liturgy of the Jacobites, but not into that of the Orthodox.

Since the prayer quoted above makes mention of Severus, who lived in the middle of the sixth century, it was, no doubt, added after that date. The sixth century liturgy of St. James too, as we have shown, was free from it.

Were it in the primitive liturgy, the Orthodox, who believed in its efficacy, would have by no means omitted it. So it follows that the liturgy of St. Mark during the sixth century had no invocation of saints, and that which we see in the Jacobite (Coptic) "St. Mark" is a later addition.

Invocation of Saints and the Jacobite "St. James."

I. Moses Bar Kepha, the Jacobite Bishop of Mosul during the 9th and 10th centuries, was one of the great luminaries of that church. He was the author of several books of which one was a commentary of the liturgy. He comments upon each and every prayer and exhortation. Since even the benediction, "Peace be unto you" and the response, "And with thy spirit" are commented upon, it is not likely that he has left out any item of the liturgy which was known to him. A form of that liturgy is given in chapter II. In his liturgy there was no trace whatever of the invocation of saints

II. Dionysius Bar Salib, who was Bishop of Amid during the latter half of the twelfth century, is considered a great authority by the Jacobites. Among his works there is a commentary of the liturgy. The form of the liturgy known to him, as gathered from his commentary, is given in chapter II. In that liturgy too there is not even a trace of the invocation of saints. Now we have found that the invocation of saints had no place in the Jacobite liturgy of the sixth century, nor in that of the tenth or twelfth.

Now let us turn to their modern liturgy. Even the modern Jacobite liturgy, as a matter of fact, does not contain it, provided we eliminate the portions which are not uniformly found in the different MSS.

III. In the liturgy printed in Travancore (No. 11) there is no direct invocation of saints except in certain hymns, which are not in Brightman, nor in Etheridge, nor in Howard, nor in Hough, nor in any MS. I have examined. There is no denying the fact that these hymns do not belong to the liturgy, but were taken into it from other prayer books.

IV. The above printed liturgy (No. 11) contains certain indirect invocation of saints in the Litany and the Katholiki. "The Catholic is a prayer," says Howard, "uttered with a loud voice by the deacon, while the priest is engaged in the ceremony of the breaking.....The prayer usually commences with the words 'Again and again' etc.; but it is not

always of the same form, and, like the two succeeding portions of the Liturgy, appears not to belong strictly to the Anaphora of St. James, but to be of different origin." (pp. 236, 237).

The only relevant portion in the Katholiki according to No. 11 is:—"May their prayers be a stronghold to us." (Mar Ivanios, p. 21) This is not in Brightman's MSS., nor in the autograph MS. of the late Mar Curilos (No. 24). As the Katholiki widely varies in different MSS., it is indisputably of a different origin. Now let us take the Litany, which too differs in different MSS.

V. In the Jacobite liturgy there are certain intercessions just after the Epiklesis. These fall into six divisions. Every division is subdivided into three parts; (1) the deacon's exhortation, (2) the priest's private prayer, (3) the priest's public prayer.

There is a litany in the Orthodox "St. James;" but entirely different from that of the Jacobite "St. James." In the former there is no exhortation by the deacon. That the litany, like the Katholiki, is different in different MSS. is already shown in chapter II. (pp. 48—52, 56—62)

According to the autograph Diakonika of Mar Curilos (No. 24; fac-similes of the two pages in question are given *infra* p. 89) and the copy which Brightman found (No. 1) deacon's exhortations in Litany Nos. I—V end with "let us beseech the Lord" (Brightman, pp. 90, 91, 93, 95); while according to No. 11, the Litany Nos. I, II, and III end with "Let us beseech the Lord", but IV and V with "let us beseech the Lord that their prayers may be a stronghold for us." In the printed Diakonika of the Uniat Patriarch Mar Ignatius (No. 14) "their prayers may be a stronghold for us" is found only in No. V. Now we find that some added these words only in Litany No. V and some both in Nos. IV and V, and that this addition is not accepted by all the Jacobites.

And there is another:—

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| <p>Litany No. IV. Priest. (Public prayer) "We remember them, so that they also may remember us before Thee, and may communicate with us in this spiritual sacrifice." (Howard, p. 233)</p> | <p>"We too remember them that they too while they stand before thy lofty tribunal may remember our misery and poverty and may offer unto thee with us this fearful and unbloody sacrifice." (Brightman, p. 93)</p> |
|--|--|

Here also we find different prayers in Brightman and Howard.

Some divine incorporated an invocation of saints into the litany and another seeing it, inserted one in an enlarged form. Generally prayers are incorporated into the liturgy by some prominent divines, and in course of time are accepted by all.

Brightman's MS. and that of Etheridge contain one more invocation of saints. Priest's public prayer in Litany No. V:—"That by their prayers and supplications peace may be unto thy church." (Etheridge, p. 210; Brightman, p. 94). This clause is not in the Syriac liturgy No. 11, nor in any MS. found here, and therefore this too must be a later addition by somebody, which did not obtain a wide currency among the Jacobites.

In the printed Syriac liturgy (No. 11) there is an appendix under the title "special prayers," in which is a direct prayer addressed to St. Mary. In certain copies such as those of Howard (pp. 244, 245) and Hough (p. 640) this special prayer in the appendix is thrust into the liturgy itself.

Now it is evident that there is no invocation of saints uniformly found in the different MSS. of the Jacobite liturgy of St. James.

VI. In the Pro-anaphora attached to the above according to No. 11 there are a couple of invocations of saints.

"Let Mary who brought thee forth, and John who baptized thee, be suppliants unto thee in our behalf.

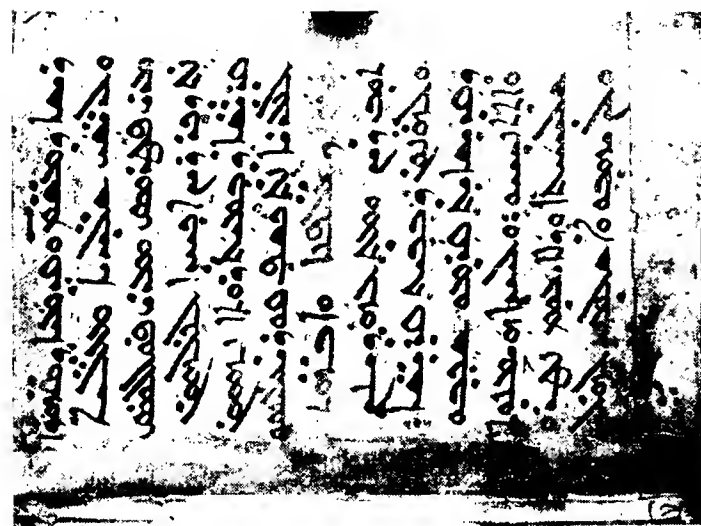
"Responsory of Mar Severus

"*People.* By the prayers of Mary who brought thee forth, and of John who baptized thee—I will magnify thee" etc.

Let us take the first into consideration. The liturgy of the Uniat Patriarch Mar Ignatius according to the edition of 1843 (No. 12) is as follows:—

"*He begins the responsory of Mar Severus.* By the prayers of Mary who brought thee forth and of all the saints, I will magnify thee etc."

There is only a slight difference between this and the copy of Brightman (No. 1)—instead of "all the saints" the latter reads "John who baptized thee." (p. 77). The Uniat liturgy of 1843 (No. 12) as well as the MS. of Brightman does not contain the first prayer under consideration. But the 1922 edition of this Uniat liturgy has adopted it.



The end of Litany No. IV in the autograph Diakonika of the late Yoyakim Mar Curilos Metropolitan.



The end of Litany No. V in the autograph Diakonika of the late Yoyakim Mar Curilos Metropolitan.

In the MS. (No. 119), which was written in Syria, there is a note at the foot of the prayer under consideration to the effect that this or the general prayer may be recited here. The fac-simile of that page of this MS. is given *infra* p. 93. During the days of Bar Salib the service was begun with the Trisagion. Subsequently some divine added some general prayer and another inserted the invocation under reference as an alternative prayer, and at last this intruded invocation got itself confirmed there.

VII. Now let us take into consideration the second invocation of saints which was thrust into the responsory of Mar Severus.

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| <p>"I will extol thee, O Lord my King, <i>through the prayers of Mary who brought Thee forth, and of John who baptized Thee.</i>" (Hough, p. 629)</p> | <p><i>"Through the prayers of Mary who brought thee forth, and of all the saints, I will magnify Thee, O Lord our King."</i> (No. 11.)</p> | <p>"I will magnify Thee, O Lord, our King." (Mar Ivanios, p. 3).</p> |
|---|--|--|

The italics are mine. The italicised words in Hough, as well as in the printed Syriac liturgy No 11, were added by some divine. We find "all the saints" in one, instead of "John who baptized Thee" in the other; while there is no invocation of saints in the Responsory of Mar Severus according to Mar Ivanios.† and many other copies such as No 13, 14, 22, 23, 24, 28, 31, 34, 38, 39, 41, 42, 44, 50, 52, 53, 54, 62, 64, 67, 71, 72, 74, 75, 76, 77, 79, 83, 84, 87, 93, 98, 114, 115, 117, 118, 119, etc.

† The Responsory of Severus according to the printed Syriac liturgy (No. 11) is as follows:—"By the prayers of Mary who brought thee forth and of all the saints—I will magnify thee O Lord our King. the Only-begotten Son and the Word of the Heavenly Father, who art immortal in thy nature, who by thy grace camest for the life and salvation of the whole race of men, and didst become incarnate of the holy and glorious and pure virgin-mother of God, Mary: who didst take a body without change, and was crucified for us. O Christ our Lord, who by thy death didst trample under foot our death and destroy it, who art one of the Holy Trinity and art worshipped and glorified equally with thy Father and thy living Holy Spirit, have mercy upon us."

The Orthodox Church has copied in its liturgy this responsory, but the italicised words are not in that liturgy. Instead of "Virgin-mother of God, Mary" the Orthodox liturgy reads "mother of God and ever-virgin Mary."

This Responsory of Severus (6th century) was in the Jacobite prayer Book. (*Prayer Book* by Koniattu Malpan, p. 37). We do not know when this was inserted in the liturgy. During the days of Moses Bar Kepha (10th century) and Dionysius Bar Salib (12th century) this was not in the liturgy. (Vide *Supra* ch. II, pp. 30, 31.) This was inserted in the liturgy some time after the 12th century.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

CHAPTER VI

MEDIATORIAL PRIESTHOOD

Mediatorial Priesthood and the Liturgy of St. James.

Orthodox Liturgy of St. James : Jacobite "St. James ":

"*Deacon.* let us stand with piety ; let us stand with the fear of God and compunction of heart ; let us attend to the holy Anaphora, to offer peace to God." (Neale, p. 47)

"*Deacon.* Barckmore. Brethren, let us stand well with awe, reverence, purity, holiness, love and true faith, and watch this Holy Qurbana which is offered before us by this reverend Priest.

"For he offers this living sacrifice to God the Father in unity and peace on behalf of us all." (Mar Ivanios, p. 12)

The latter is evidently a development or perversion of the former. In the latter it is the priest that offers ; whereas in the former it is the Church that offers. It will be shown that the portion quoted from the Jacobite liturgy is not found in the majority of MSS. of that liturgy. (*infra*, Ch. XI)

Liturgy of St. Chrysostom : "*Deacon.* Stand we well : stand we with fear : let us attend to offer the holy Oblation in peace." (Neale, p. 112). Here too it is the Church that offers.

Orthodox " St. James:"

Jacobite " St. James:"

Priest. " The love of the Lord and Father, the grace of the Lord and Son, the communion and gift of the Holy Ghost, be with us all." (Neale, p. 48)

Priest. " The love of God the Father, and the grace of the Only-begotten Son, and the communion and abiding presence of God the Holy Spirit, be with you all, my brethren, for ever." (Mar Ivanios, p. 12).

Priest. " And the grace and mercies of the Holy and consubstantial and uncreated and adorable Trinity shall be with us all." (Neale, p. 58),

Priest. " Brethren, the grace and blessings of the Glorious, Uncreated, Self-existent, Eternal, Adorable, Consubstantial and Holy Trinity be with you all." (Mar Ivanios, p. 22)

Evidently the Jacobites changed US into YOU, and it was due to their notion of mediatorial priesthood. While I say this, I would not be held to mean that the former is incompatible with mediatorial priesthood, and the latter necessarily supports it, but the latter is more agreeable to it.

Mediatorial Priesthood and ancient Liturgies

In other ancient liturgies too we find "be with us all."

Orthodox "St. Mark." "*Priest.* The Love of God and the Father, the grace of the Son and our Lord Jesus Christ, the Communion and gift of the Holy Ghost, be with us all, now and ever, and to ages of ages." (Neale, p. 29) In this liturgy we find "peace be with all" not "peace be with you all." (Neale, pp. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 13, 14, 26, 27, 28).

In the Mozarabic Missal we read: "The grace of God the Father Almighty, the peace and love of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be ever with us all." (*Liturgies and Offices of the Church*, E. Burbidge, p. 207).

The Liturgy of Mar Addai and Mar Mari: "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God the Father and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with us all; now always and for ever and ever." (Translation published by the S. P. C. K., pp. 30, 31).

"The gift of the grace of the Giver of Life our Lord Jesus Christ be fulfilled with us all." (*Ibid.*, p. 34).

The last benediction:—"May our Lord Jesus Christ, whom we have served and celebrated and honoured in his glorious, holy, life-giving and divine mysteries, make us worthy of the fair glory of his kingdom and of delight with his holy angels, and of the openness of face before him and of standing at his right hand in Jerusalem which is above, in his grace and mercies. To him be glory and upon us and upon all creatures, may the right hand of his providence rest, now and always and for ever and ever." (*Ibid.*, p. 38)

The Chaldean liturgy of Theodore:—"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.....be with us all, now and always and for ever and ever." (*Ibid.*, p. 41).

The Chaldean liturgy of Nestorius:—"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.....be with us all....." (*Ibid.*, p. 47).

The Chaldean Order of Baptism:—"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.. ...be with us all....." (*Ibid.*, pp. 73, 75).

The liturgy of the Romo-Syrians of Malabar is the mutilated Chaldean liturgy. Archbishop Menezes, by oversight, left uncorrected several items that ought to be corrected according to the teaching of the Roman Church. There was such an oversight in the case of the benediction too.

The liturgy of the Romo-Syrians:—"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the charity of God the Father, and the communication of the Holy Ghost, be with us all, now and always, world without end." (Fr. Palocaren's translation, p. 49, The Syriac edition, p. 25). The very same benediction is given again. (Translation, p. 31, Syriac, p. 37).

"May God, the Lord of all, remove the uncleanness of our debts and our sins by the sprinkling of his goodness, and may he wash away the stains of our offences in the immense ocean of his mercy." (Translation, p. 25, Syriac, p. 20).

"May the gift of the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Giver of Life be perfected by his mercy in all of us." (Translation, pp. 56, 57, Syriac, p. 46).

The last benediction:—"May our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom we ministered, whom we served and honoured, by his holy mysteries—glorious life-giving and divine—make us worthy of the magnificent glory of his kingdom, of happiness with his holy angels, and of confidence in his presence, and that we may stand at his right hand in the heavenly Jerusalem. May his mercy and goodness be poured out upon us and upon the whole world, upon the Church and her children, now and always world without end." (Translation, pp. 66, 67, Syriac, p. 46).

Jacobite "St. James" and Mediatorial Priesthood

I. Jacobite "St. James:" *Priest*. My brethren and my masters, pray for me that my sacrifice be accepted." (*Ante*, p. 37, 39). This is from the Pro-anaphora which is admittedly a later addition.

There is nothing of the kind in the Orthodox Liturgy. "Before the secrets," says Dr. Fortescue, "the celebrant asks for the prayers of the people, and the minister or those around do as he asks. It is again a medieval addition." (*The Mass*, p. 311).

The Latin Liturgy of the Roman Catholics:—"Pray, brethren and sisters for me that my sacrifice and your own as well, may be accepted by the Lord our God." Fortunately

the Pope did not change this ancient form in such a way as to suit the Roman doctrine of mediatorial priesthood.

“My sacrifice and your own.” Sacrifice here means thanksgiving. I will sacrifice unto thee with the voice of thanksgiving.” (Jonah, II. 9). “Pray for me that my sacrifice be accepted” is, no doubt, a development or rather a perversion of “Pray for me that my sacrifice and your own as well, may be accepted.”

It should be noted that “Pray for me that my sacrifice be accepted” was added by some divine and is not yet accepted by all the Jacobites. This was not found in the liturgy known to Moses Bar Kepha in the 10th century, nor in that known to Dionysius Bar Salib in the 12th century (*Supra* p. 37) nor is it found in Patriarch Abdulla's MS. (No. 19 see facsimile p. 99) nor in the autograph MSS. of Mar Curilos (Nos 22, 23 see facsimile p. 101), nor in the English translation of the Most Rev. Mar Ivanios Metropolitan (No. 6) nor in the MS. of the late Mar Ivanios Metropolitan of Kandanad (No. 34), nor in several other MSS. In certain MSS. it is written on the margin by different hands. No. 54 (Facsimile *infra* p. 103); No. 59 Facsimile *infra* p. 105); Nos. 84, 123.

The first edition of the Uniat liturgy (No. 12) reads as follows:—

اَنْتَ مَوْلَانِي اَنْتَ مَوْلَانِي اَنْتَ مَوْلَانِي

“My brethren and the beloved pray for me for the sake of our Lord.”

The last edition of the same (No. 13) reads as follows:—

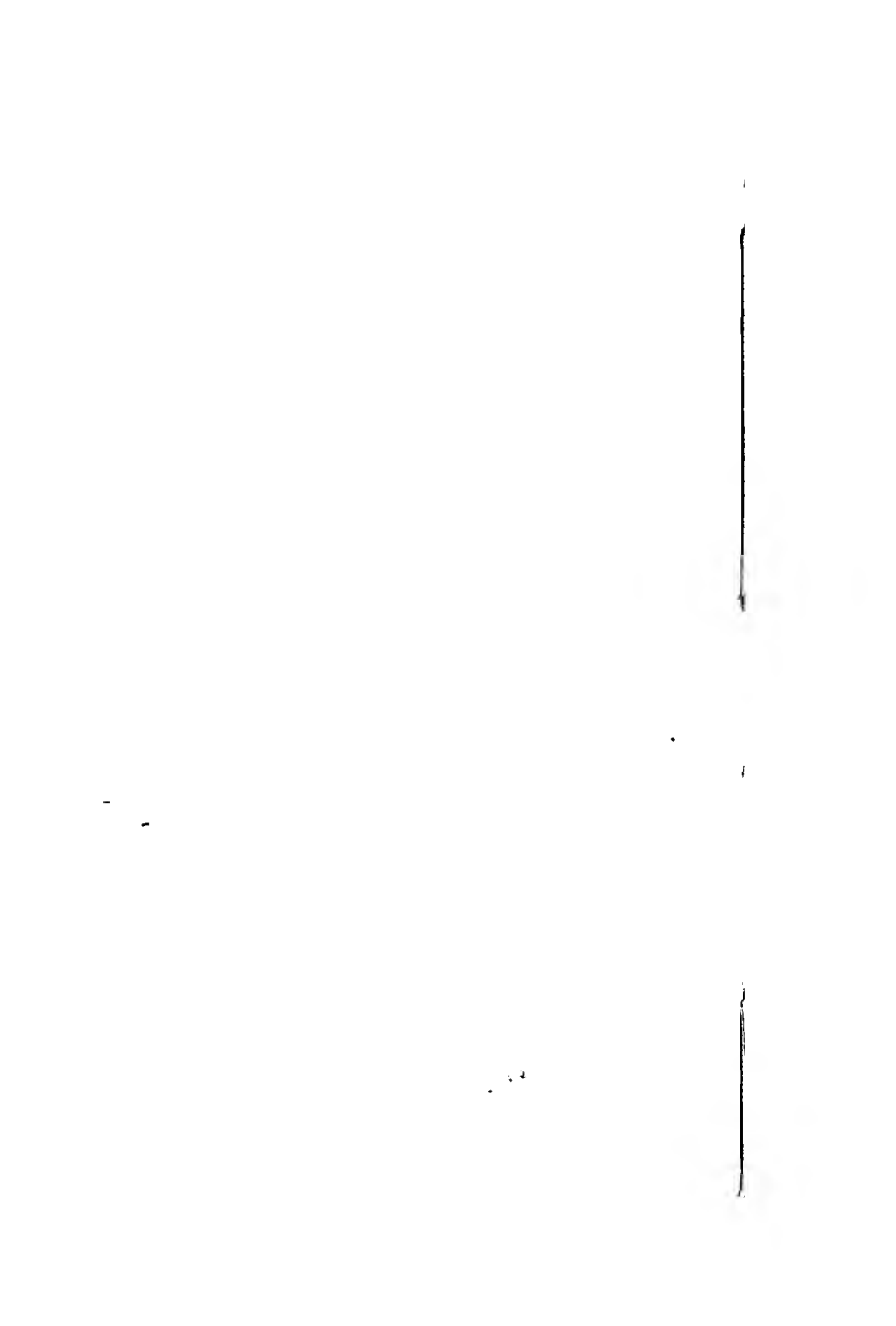
اَنْتَ مَوْلَانِي اَنْتَ مَوْلَانِي اَنْتَ مَوْلَانِي

“My brethren and the beloved pray for me.” These are the words we find in MS. No. 94 (Vide the facsimile p. 107) and so in MS. No. 39.

It is evident from the MSS. of Patriarch Abdulla and others that the request under consideration does not belong to the Jacobite liturgy. Some divine added “Pray for me” and another added “Pray for me that my sacrifice be accepted” in order to establish mediatorial priesthood.

II. After the last farewell. “*Congregation.* May the Lord accept thy Qurbana and help us by thy prayers.” (Mar

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Ivanios, p 31). The only other copy in which this is found is the Malayalam translation (No. 7) or the printed Diakonika in Syriac (No. 15); not in the manuscript Diakonika of the Most Rev. Mar Athanasius Metropolitan (No. 26), nor even in the four editions of the Syriac liturgy (Nos. 8, 9, 10,11); nor in No. 96. The manuscript Diakonika of Konat Malpan (No. 39) reads as follows:—"Glory be to God who hast accepted thy *Qurbana*. Help us by your prayers." Here it is a request to the priest. The MS. translated by the Rev. J. Peet was quite different:—" *Deacon*. O our Lord, make us and our dead happy, through the prayers of her who brought thee forth, and of all thy saints." (Hough, p. 642).

One divine was of opinion that the congregation before the dispersal should recite certain words which express the idea of mediatorial priesthood and inserted the same. That is what we find in the Malayalam translation (No. 7). Another divine inserted certain other words expressing the same idea. That is what we find in No. 39. Another divine inserted a prayer involving invocation of saints and prayer for the dead. That is what we find in Peet's MS. Though this MS. does not give "May the Lord accept thy *Qurbana* and help us by thy prayers" in this particular place, it gives the very same words in two places. First just after the benediction following the Gospel. (Hough, p. 630). It is not in any other copy. Secondly just before the blessing of the censer (Hough, p. 632). This is found also in the liturgies printed in Travancore Nos. 10, 11. But this is not in the MSS. of the late Patriarch Abdulla (No. 19), late Mar Curilos Metropolitan (his autograph MSS. of the liturgy and the Diakonika Nos. 22, 23, 24), late Mar Severios Metropolitan (No. 31), late Mar Gregorios Metropolitan (Nos. 32, 33), late Mar Ivanios Metropolitan (No. 34), and the most Rev. Mar Athanasius Metropolitan (No. 25), nor in the Uniat Patriarch's printed liturgy (No. 13), nor is it found in any other MS.

It is, therefore, abundantly evident that no portion in the liturgy printed in Travancore expressing mediatorial priesthood belongs strictly to the Jacobite liturgy, but every one of them was added by some divine of his own accord.

Another item which expresses this idea very strongly—"Have mercy upon me O Lord"—will come in for consideration in chapter X.

No portion expressing this idea is in the Jacobite "St. Mark," or in the Orthodox "St. Mark."

CHAPTER VII.

LOCALISATION THEORY OR THE THEORY OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION OR CONSUBSTANTIATION.

Localisation and liturgies.

Jacobite "St. James." (Prayer before the Communion)
"And he ascends the step. When he has taken the coal from the chalice in the spoon he says:—'Thee, I am holding who holdest the bounds, thee I am grasping who orderest the depths, thee O God, do I place in my mouth'."

Orthodox "St. James." "*Priest (Before Communicating).* Lord our God, the Heavenly Bread, the Life of the world, I have sinned against heaven and before Thee, and am not worthy to partake Thy spotless mysteries: but do Thou, Who art a compassionate God, make me worthy by Thy grace to communicate without condemnation in the holy Body and precious Blood, for the remission of sins, and eternal life." (Neale, p. 60).

The doctrine, involved in the prayer of the Jacobite Syrian priest when he communicates, is either that the bread has become Christ himself or Christ is in the bread. Why is it we do not find it in the Orthodox Liturgy? That the Orthodox are at one with the Jacobites on this point is beyond question. We, therefore, cannot but conclude that the first prayer quoted above is a later addition.

The latter prayer is harmless. Can it be supposed for a moment that the Orthodox would drop from their Liturgy, a prayer like the one in the Jacobite Liturgy just quoted, which expresses their idea of the Eucharist quite exquisitely and replace it with the above prayer, which, though beautiful, does not express their doctrine on the subject? The primitive prayer became unsatisfactory both to the Orthodox and the Jacobites because of their change of view regarding the Eucharist. They, therefore, inserted new prayers there.

The following is a sample of a primitive prayer. Jacobite "St. Mark." "*A prayer which the priest says alone when he would receive of the holy mysteries. And he says Amen and prays on this wise, saying:* All holy and consubstantial and undivided and unspeakable Trinity, grant me to receive this holy bread unto life and not unto condemnation and grant me

to bring forth fruit wellpleasing unto thee, that evidently pleasing thee I may live in thee doing thy commandments, calling upon thee, Father, making bold and invoking thy kingdom and thy will: and hallowed also be thy name in me: for mighty art thou in all things, and blessed. Thine is the glory for ever. Amen." (Brightman, pp. 185, 186). This is not in the Orthodox "St. Mark."

Another sample we find in the Armenian Liturgy:—*"The priest takes the body in his hand and he kisses it with tears, saying privately: What blessing and what thanksgiving shall we render unto thee for this bread and for this cup? But, o Jesus, we bless thee alone with the Father and the allholy Spirit now and ever world without end."* (Brightman, p. 449).

Mark the world of difference between these prayers and that of the Jacobite Syrian Liturgy. These prayers are purely evangelical. There is not even a shadow of the Jacobite doctrine in them; on the other hand, the consecrated bread is called simply holy bread. These prayers are not consistent with the other prayers of these liturgies. It is a strange oversight on the part of the Coptics and of the Armenians that they did not remove the prayers in which the consecrated bread is called simply holy bread.

The prayer quoted from the Coptic "St. Mark," as already said, is not in the Orthodox "St. Mark." Here we have two alternatives before us: (1) This was in the primitive liturgy of St. Mark and the Orthodox removed it. (2) This was a new prayer inserted by the Coptics. One cannot even dream of the latter alternative. We should bear in mind that the Coptic Jacobites introduced into this liturgy, the worship of the elements, as is evident from the following:

Jacobite "St. Mark." "[He shall take the pure body in his left hand and shall put his right finger upon it saying] the holy body. The people shall say, we worship thine holy body." (Brightman, p. 180). This is not in the Orthodox liturgy of St. Mark. This, therefore, is an addition made by the Coptics. So the Coptics are the last people to compose a prayer calling the consecrated bread by the simple name of holy bread. Then it follows that the prayer under consideration was in the primitive liturgy of St. Mark, and it was removed by the Orthodox.

We find the above prayer in a mutilated form in the

Liturgy of the Abyssinian Jacobites:—" *A prayer which the faithful shall pray each as often as he receiveth the eucharist in his mouth: and he shall say* Holy Holy Holy Trinity unspeakable, grant me that I receive unto life the body and blood without condemnation. Grant me that I bring forth fruit that shall be well-pleasing unto thee, to the end that I may appear in the glory and live unto thee doing thy will, with confession calling upon thee, Father, and calling upon Thy Kingdom: hallowed, Lord, be Thy name with us: for mighty art thou, praised and glorious, and thine is the glory world without end." (Brightman, p. 241).

The Abyssinian Jacobites in the middle ages thought it incumbent on them to correct it. The Orthodox thought it better to drop it altogether.

There is no knowing, how many beautiful prayers of the primitive liturgies were contemptuously thrown away by the divines of the Middle ages, when they worked havoc with everything in liturgies which did not agree with their new doctrines. It is, to my mind, simply providential that the excellent prayer quoted above, escaped the vandal hands of the medieval divines, especially when I remember, that while it was contemptuously thrown away by the Orthodox with the earnest hope that even the memory of it would perish for ever, the Coptic Jacobites, who had outdone their Orthodox brethren in their enthusiasm for the new doctrine by introducing even the worship of the elements into the liturgy, retained the prayer in which the consecrated bread was called by the simple name of holy bread, and failed to realize the glaring inconsistency which was allowed to remain in their liturgy.

In the Chaldean Liturgy of Theodor we read:—"Whoso in true faith eateth of this bread and drinketh of this cup." (Translation S. P. C. K., p. 46). Again in the liturgy of Nestorius we read:—"Let it not be to him unto weakness and sickness by reason of his sins, in that he eateth of this bread* and drinketh of this cup unworthily." (*Ibid.*, p. 58). The original Syriac of these two quotations is given *infra* chapter VIII.

It was by an oversight on the part of the Chaldeans too that they preserved these primitive forms.

* Some Chaldean divine corrected "eateth of this bread and drinketh of this cup" into "eating this body and drinking this blood." (Badger, Vol. II, p. 233). Fortunately this correction is not accepted by the majority of Chaldeans; their printed Syriac liturgy reads, "eateth of this bread" etc. That there are discrepancies in the MSS. of the Chaldean liturgies is testified to by the translator. (S. P. C. K. publication, p. V).

Now we have found that the prayer we quoted in the beginning of this chapter from the Jacobite liturgy of St. James, was not in the liturgy of St. James during the 6th century, and that that prayer was poles apart from the primitive prayers said at the time of communion.

Localisation and the Jacobite "St. James."

Let us now enquire whether the prayer under consideration does really belong even to the Jacobite Liturgy.

First this was not in the Liturgy known to the Jacobite Bishop Moses Bar Kepha, 10th century. (Vide Chapter II p. 66).

Secondly this was not known to Dionysins Bar Salib, a Jacobite bishop who lived in the latter part of the 12th century. (Vide Chapter II p. 66). So it follows that the prayer named above was composed 1200 years after Christ.

Thirdly this was not in the Jacobite liturgy during the 16th century. For we do not find this in the Jacobite Liturgy of the Maronites, who embraced the Roman faith during the 16th century. Even now they use more than forty liturgies of the Jacobites—of course they have removed everything peculiar to the Jacobites, while not at all likely to omit anything in agreement with their views. While partaking of the Eucharist the Maronite priest recites the prayer which just precedes the one under discussion.

"Then taking the body of Christ, he saith, Grant, Lord, that our bodies may be sanctified by thy holy body, and that our souls may be purified by thy atoning blood, that they may be for the forgiveness of our transgressions, and the remission of our sins. Unto thee, O Lord God, be glory for evermore." (Etheridge, p. 215 *Ante*. p. 66).

Were the prayer under discussion in existence, when Maronites joined the Roman Church, they would have valued it yet more.

Fourthly this prayer is not yet unanimously accepted by the Jacobites. For Etheridge, while translating the liturgy of St. James published by the Maronites, gives in square brackets those additional items which he found in a Jacobite MS., and the prayer under discussion is not found in it. It is, therefore, evident that the MS. of the Jacobite "St. James", which Etheridge got, did not contain the prayer under consideration. I have not seen any MS. without this prayer in Malabar. Since Etheridge found one without this, there may be many

such MSS. in Syria. So this prayer is not accepted by all the Jacobites. This was inserted in the liturgy by some divine and is now accepted by a very large majority.

Now let me take into consideration another portion which indicates localisation.

Jacobite St. James. "*The priest lifting the veil.* Thou art the hard rock which sent forth the twelve rivers of water for the twelve tribes of Israel. Thou art the hard rock which was set against the tomb of our Redeemer." (Howard, p. 224).

Here the priest is addressing the veil and says that it is the rock which was set against the tomb of our Redeemer. The meaning evidently is that the paten as well as the cup, covered by the veil is the sepulchre of our Lord. This is not in the Orthodox Liturgy of St. James. It is, therefore, evident that this was added after the 6th century.

Secondly this was not in the Jacobite liturgy known to Moses Bar Kepha. Bar Kepha says that the veil indicates the rock; but he does not speak of such a statement in the liturgy.

This interpretation was his own. James of Edessa (640—708 A. D.), an eminent bishop of the Jacobite Church gives a different interpretation. While speaking about the prayer of the veil, (the prayer which just precedes the apostrophe under discussion) he says:—".....that wherewith they uncover the table and signify thereby that the doors of heaven are then opened." (Brightman, p. 491).

Thirdly this was not in the liturgy known to Bar Salib. According to that liturgy it is after the removal of the veil that the people recite "Blessing, peace, sacrifice, and praise" and it is followed by the benediction. There is no apostrophe to the veil.

Fourthly this is not in the two autograph books of the late Mar Curilos Metropolitan (Nos. 22, 23), and in the one he brought from Syria (No. 21). (The facsimiles of those pages from Nos. 21 and 22 are given *infra* pp. 115, 117), and in the copy translated by the Most Rev. Mar Ivanios Metropolitan (No. 6), and in the copy of the Most Rev. Augen Mar Timotheus Metropolitan (No. 27), and in the copy of the late Mar Ivanios Metropolitan of Kandanad (No. 34), and in the copy of the Maronite Patriarch (Nos. 2, 20) and in several other copies (Nos. 1, 2, 69, 70, 90, 93a, and 102). In the copy No. 81 this is written on the margin in another hand. In the copy No. 119 which was brought from Syria the following is written on the

عذرا يا خا و بلي
 لانتك لطفك الدنا
 برحمتك : لا تذب اهلنا
 فكلهم في حننا اخونا
 ولا وعا . حبنا
 وفضلنا ملكنا
 او بعلنا يا بلي
 لا تذب ربحنا
 وانا اخنا وانا ونا
 حننا ورحمة الا لطفنا
 وفضلنا ملكنا
 ورحمتنا يا بلي
 حننا ورحمة سيرتنا
 وفضلنا ملكنا
 ارحم ارحم ربحنا وفضلنا ملكنا
 ورحمتنا يا بلي

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“He signs six crosses: one on himself; one on the north; one on the south and three on the people saying.” The rubric given in more than one hundred copies are more or less like these two.

The rubric given before the last benediction in the printed liturgy No. 11 is this:—

“ Placing his left hand on the table and taking power he makes the sign of the cross on both sides.” In the copy No. 9 which was printed in A. D. 1886, “taking power” is wanting in this place, though it is given in the rubric before the first benediction. If it has any place anywhere, it is here, not before the consecration of the elements. The two copies, Nos. 8, 33, which contain, these words in the rubric before the first benediction, do not give them here. This is not in the copy filed in the court by the late Joseph Mar Dionysius. (*In the Royal Court of final Appeal, Case No. III, Vol. III, p. 102*).

The rubric in the 1886 edition (No. 9):—

1. የገንዘብ አጠቃቀም
 2. የገንዘብ አጠቃቀም

“The priest placing his right hand on the table, and signing three crosses on the people says,”

Copy No. 43 :—

[illegible]

The idea is the same as the above.

Copy No. 116 :—

مسلم بن الحنفية قال حدثنا ابن فضال عن

“The priest signs three crosses on the people and says.”

Copy No. 8 which the late Joseph Mar Dionysius Metropolitan got printed :—

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أدريس الزاوي

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A page from the MS. No. 119 which was written in Syria



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The late Mar Gregorios Metropolitan's copy (No. 33) :—

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The Syrian Uniats' copy (No. 13) :—

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Rev. Payyampallil David Cathanar's copy (No. 63) :—

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Now let me quote the liturgy printed in Malabar :—
 “ When ye communicate in this mystery, commemorate my
 death and my resurrection until I come.” (No. 11).

Jacobite " St. James " according to Mar Ivanios : " Do this as the memorial of Me, as oft as ye partake of this *Holy Mystery*, and commemorate My Death and My Resurrection, until I come." (p. 13). The italics are mine.

The Orthodox liturgy and the Jacobite liturgy according to the MSS. of Moses Bar Kepha and others are the same, and that is a quotation from I Cor. XI. 25, 26. " This do as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me. For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink the cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death till he come." (R. V.)

Some divine wanted to remove " eat this bread and drink this cup " and to put in its place " communicate in this mystery." The reason is twofold: since he could not bear the word " bread " he substituted " mystery "; since he was administering the Eucharist in one kind he thought it prudent to remove the word " drink." What he found unbearable was only a quotation from the Word of God. This sacrilegious correction, one is glad to observe, is not accepted by all the Jacobites, but one cannot but fear that in course of time it may be accepted by all of them.

It should be noted that " eat this bread and drink this cup " is found in many a liturgy.

Orthodox " St. Mark " :—" Do this in remembrance of Me. For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye shew forth My death, and confess My Resurrection and Ascension till I come." (Neale, pp. 22, 23).

Liturgy of St. Clement :—" Do this in remembrance of Me ; for as often as ye eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye do show forth My Death till I come." (Neale, p. 84).

Liturgy of St Basil :—" Do this in remembrance of Me. For as often as ye shall eat this Bread, and drink this Cup, ye declare My Death, and confess My Resurrection." (Neale, p. 133).

Liturgy of Nestorius :—" Do this in remembrance of me until my coming again ; for as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show my death till I come." (Badger, Vol. II, pp. 226, 227).

Almost all primitive liturgies preserve this form. But the Roman Catholics changed it into the following form :—

'As often as ye do these things ye shall do them in remembrance of me.' This is what we find in the Latin Mass and the Syriac Mass (Malabar). Some Jacobite divine changed it further:—"When ye communicate in this mystery."

To avoid the word "bread" and the idea of administering the Lord's Supper in both kinds the Jacobite's correction, "when ye communicate in this mystery" is much better than that of the Roman Catholics, "as often as ye do these things." "As ye do these things" means eating of this bread and drinking of this cup. "When ye communicate in this mystery" has entirely removed that idea.

Some Jacobite divine thrust "mystery" in another prayer. "Make us meet to partake of the life-giving mysteries of Christ our Saviour." (Howard, p. 242).

The Syriac liturgy printed in Travancore (No. 11) agrees with this. Brightman's MS.:—"We may be worthy to partake of the body and blood of Christ our Saviour." (pp. 100, 101). Etheridge's MS. of the Jacobite liturgy (p. 213), the Maronites' liturgy, and the liturgy of the Syrian Uniate under the Patriarch Ignatius agree with Brightman's MS.

Let me quote the liturgy of the Syrian Uniate

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"To partake of the body and blood of Christ, the Saviour."
Coal.

There is another curious correction. "The propitiatory particle of the body and blood of Christ our God is given to His sinful servant." (Hough, p. 640). Maronite Uniate's liturgy:—"The body and blood of our Lord Jeshu Meshicha, given unto thee for the forgiveness of transgression, and the remission of sins." (Etheridge, p. 215). The Jacobite MS. which Etheridge read was also like this.

Now let me quote the printed Jacobite liturgy, No. 11:—"Propitiatory coal of the body and blood of Christ our God is given to a sinful servant."

The word "Particle" in Hough's MS. is substituted by 'coal' in No. 11. We find the word 'coal' in a rubric in Hough (p. 640); but it is never used in prayer or declaration.

CHAPTER VIII.

FORMULA OF CONSECRATION.

This chapter opens up the most important and interesting and much disputed question in the history of liturgy. The consecrating formula in the East has undergone change after change. Let us enter into a careful study of these changes.

Regarding this subject let us, to begin with, study the formularies preserved to us in the ancient documents.

First Stage

Didache or "The Doctrine of the Apostles," as Mgr. Duchesne says, "a very ancient writing, contemporary, at the latest, with St. Justin," reads as follows:—"As to the Eucharist, we give thanks in this wise. First for the chalice: *We, thank Thee, our Father, for the Holy Vine of David, Thy servant, which Thou hast made known to us by Jesus Thy servant. Glory to Thee for evermore!*

"For the bread: *We thank Thee, our Father, for the life and the knowledge which Thou hast made known to us by Jesus, Thy servant. Glory to Thee for evermore! As the elements of this bread, scattered on the mountains, were brought together into a single whole, may Thy Church in like manner be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Thy kingdom; for Thine is the glory and the power, through Jesus Christ for evermore.*

"Let no one eat or drink of your Eucharist if he is not baptized in the Name of the Lord, for it was of this* the Lord said 'Give not that which is holy to dogs.'

"After you are satisfied return thanks thus": Here comes a fairly long thanksgiving. The concluding words are "Let the prophets then make the Eucharist as long as they may wish"† (*Christian Worship*, Mgr. Duchesne, pp. 52, 53, *The Mass*, Dr. Fortescue, pp. 8, 9. *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, Vol. I, pp. 323, 325, *Selections from early Christian Writers*, H. M. Gwatkin, pp. 19—21).

Here nothing is prayed for the elements.

* "Concerning this also the Lord hath said."—Gwatkin.

† "Permit the prophets to offer thanksgiving as much as they desire."
—Gwatkin.

"Another theory," Dr. Fortescue says, "connects the earliest liturgy, not with the Passover ceremony but with the Sabbath meal held every Friday evening. This meal is a religious service; its ritual is given in the Treatise, *Blessings of the Talmud*, and may be seen in any modern Jewish prayer-book. At the beginning of the meal bread is blessed with the form; 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, king of the universe, who bringest forth bread from the earth.' Then wine with the form; 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, king of the universe, who hast created the fruit of the vine.' The head of the family (having said these forms) tastes of each and gives them to the others. These forms are the 'blessings,' to say them is to 'bless'; does not the statement that our Lord 'blessed' (eulogesas Mt. xxvi. 26; Mk. xiv. 22) mean that he used similar forms? At the end of the meal a long grace is said, thanking God for food and for his other benefits, praying for benefactors etc. The guests answer Amen. It is especially the Eucharist in the *Didache* which resembles this Jewish service (pp. 8, 9). The wine and bread are blessed before the meal with similar forms; after the meal follows a thanksgiving prayer just as in the Sabbath-meal. In conclusion we may take it for certain that there are Jewish influences in the first Christian liturgy." (*The Mass*, pp. 74, 75). And again:—"The whole is one prayer, of which the dominant note is the thanksgiving (eucharistia) which has given its name to the whole service." (*The Mass*, p. 316).

Dr. Fortescue's statement regarding the Jewish form of blessing, is a point on which there cannot be any difference of opinion. I may however refer the readers to the following:—*The Book of Prayer and Order of Service*, Vol. I, *Daily and Occasional Prayers*, pp. 91, 92; Vol. V, *The Order of Service for the Feast of Passover and the Feast of Weeks*, p. 33. I may further refer the readers to a book written by a prominent Jew, "The Blessings" by Hazan de Sola.

"Dr. Buchwald's idea," to quote Dr. Fortescue again, "seems to have much to say for itself. In outline it is this. Our Lord took bread and wine and 'blessed' them. The blessing was a *Barakhah* of the usual Jewish form, in form a prayer of thanksgiving, in intention a Consecration. The first Christian generation did so too. The words of our Lord's 'blessing' were not preserved; but they kept the general idea of a *Barakhah*, like the Passover *Haggadah*, in form a thanksgiving for God's mercies, especially for Christ's passion and

death. This is our Anaphora ; hence the name ' Eucharist.' As part of the narration it always included the words of institution ; but attention was not specially drawn to them. Rather the whole *Barakhah* consecrated. So we understand the forms of *Didache* IX and X, pure Jewish *Barakhoth*." (*The Mass*, pp. 404, 405).

St. Mathew and St. Mark, who wrote for the Jewish Christians, used the word "blessed" (Mathew xxvi. 26, Mark, xiv. 22) which was well-known to them as sheer thanksgiving; while St. Paul and St. Luke who wrote for the gentile Christians avoided "blessed," the connotation of which was not known to those Christians, and used the words, "given thanks" (1 Cor. XI. 24 ; Luke, XXII. 19) to signify the same idea. It is, therefore, evident that our Lord did not pray for the elements, and consequently the Church of the apostolic and sub-apostolic period followed the same practice, just the practice we find in *Didache*.

Let me next quote St. Justin (*Ob.* 150 A. D.) :—" Afterwards is brought to the president of the brethren bread and a cup of water and (mixed) wine, and he takes it and offers up praise and glory to the Father of the universe through the name of the Son and the Holy Spirit, and gives thanks at length, that we have received these favours from Him ; and at the end of his prayers and thanksgiving the whole people present assents, saying Amen. Now the word Amen in the Hebrew language signifies ' So be it.' Then after the president has given thanks and all the people assented, the deacons as we call them allow every one of those present to partake of the bread and wine and water for which thanks have been given ; and for those absent they take away a portion." (*Gwatkin*, p. 49. *The Mass*, Dr. Fortescue, p. 18. *Writings of Justin Martyr and Athanagoras*, pp. 63, 64 *Apology* I, ch. 65).

In chapter 67 of his *Apology* I we read :—" And on the so-called day of the Sun there is a meeting of all of us who live in cities or the country, and the memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the prophets are read, as long as time allows. Then when the reader has ceased, the president gives by word of mouth his admonition and exhortation to follow these excellent things. Afterwards we all rise at once and offer prayers ; and as I said, when we have ceased to pray, bread is brought and wine and water, and the president likewise offers up prayers and thanksgivings to the best of his power, and the people assents with its Amen. Then follows

the distribution to each and the partaking of that for which thanks were given ; and to them that are absent a portion is sent by the hand of the deacons." (Gwatkin, p. 51, Dr. Fortescue, p. 20. Writings of Justin Martyr and Athanagoras p. 65).

St. Justin does not seem to be aware of any prayer offered for the elements. In both the passages quoted above he says " Bread and wine and water for which thanks have been given," " That for which thanks were given."

There is a passage in St. Justin which is quoted to support the opposite side. " The food, from which our flesh and blood derive nourishment by assimilation, having been blessed (or made the Eucharist) by prayer of the word which is from him." (Quoted by Mr. F. E. Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Ante-Nicene Church*, p. 107).

The words of Justin, Mr. Warren admits, are susceptible of different interpretations and therefore he does not rely upon Justin. Mr. Warren says :—" The expression ' prayer of the word which is from Him ' is difficult to interpret. It has by some been taken to refer to the words of institution, by others to mean the Lord's Prayer, by others to mean the invocation of the Holy Ghost. It must remain sufficient here to have pointed out the chief varieties of interpretation, without discussing them at length, or attempting to decide between them." (p. 107).

The third document, to which one wishes to draw the attention of the readers is, " The Apostolic Constitutions." Its first seven books are assigned to the 3rd or 4th century. I will quote a portion from the XXVth chapter of the VIIth book :—" Concerning the Eucharistical thanksgiving say thus : We thank Thee, our Father, for that life which Thou hast made known to us by Jesus Thy Son, by whom Thou madest all things, and takest care of the whole world ; whom Thou hast sent to become man for our salvation ; whom Thou hast permitted to suffer and to die ; whom Thou hast raised up, and been pleased to glorify, and hast set Him down on Thy right hand ; by whom Thou hast promised us the resurrection of the dead. Do thou, O Lord Almighty, everlasting God, so gather together Thy church from the ends of the earth into Thy kingdom ; as this (corn) was once scattered, and is now become one loaf. We also, our Father, thank Thee for the precious blood of Jesus Christ, which was shed for us, and for His precious body, whereof we celebrate this

representation, as Himself appointed us, 'to show forth His death.' For through Him glory is to be given to Thee for ever. Amen. Let no one eat of these things that is not initiated; but those only who have been baptised into the death of the Lord." (p. 187). Here too the elements are not at all prayed for.

Mr. F. E. Warren contends that the ante-Nicene formula of consecration was a prayer, admitting at the same time "The text of no ante-Nicene liturgy having come down to us, we do not and cannot know with precision the exact formula of consecration." (p. 106). He cites to support his position Justin, Irenæus and Origen together with the practice of a heretic and an impostor. It has already been shown that Warren does not draw any conclusion from Justin.

As for Irenæus the passages relied upon are not extant in the original Greek, but only in a Latin translation by one who was little qualified for his task.

"Irenæus," says the English translator of his works, "even in the original Greek, is often a very obscure writer. At times he expresses himself with remarkable clearness and terseness; but, upon the whole, his style is very involved and prolix. And the Latin version adds to these difficulties of the original, by being itself of the most barbarous character. In fact, it is often necessary to make conjectural re-translation of it into Greek, in order to obtain some inkling of what the author wrote.....Its author (i. e. the author of the Latin translation) is unknown, but he was certainly little qualified for his task." (The Writings of Irenæus, A. C. L. Vol. V, p. xvii).

The argument based on such a translation may be summarily dismissed.

"Origen says" to quote Mr. Warren, "that it is sanctified by the word of God and by prayer." (p. 108).

Here "Prayer" does not necessarily mean prayer for the elements, but perhaps Origen refers to some prayer for the elements, may be to "bless it and hallow it."

Coming to the last point, the practice of a heretic or an impostor need not necessarily be that of the Orthodox; but it may perhaps be taken as a piece of presumptive evidence.

Bishop Dr. A. J. Maclean also contends that the formula of consecration during the second and third centuries was

a prayer and adduces the same pieces of evidence. "These quotations show," says he, "that an invocation of some sort was in general use in the second and third centuries, but give us, except in the case of Gnostics, very little idea as to its nature." (*Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. vii, p. 408).

No one will conclude from these documents that it was the universal practice of the Church during the second and third centuries to consecrate the Eucharist with a prayer. At the most they prove there was such a practice, and that a prevailing one, even if it is granted that all these documents bear unequivocal testimony to the above position.

Tertullian's evidence (A. D. 150—220) goes the other way. He says "Then, having taken the bread and given it to His disciples, He made it His own body, by saying, 'This is my body,' that is, the figure of my body." (*Tertullian against Marcion*, Book IV, Ch. 40, p. 352)

He does not say that the bread was made the figure of the Lord's body by the recitation of any prayer, but by the simple declaration. To make a thing a figure of another evidently does not require a prayer, a declaration will quite suffice.

It may be contended that Tertullian is referring to what our Lord did and not to the practice in the Church. As he does not say that the practice of the Church was different, the probability is that he is referring to that also.

Second Stage.

The formulary found in "the Testament of our Lord" (Circa. 400 A. D.) is as follows:—"Remembering therefore thy death and resurrection, we offer to thee bread and the cup, giving thanks to thee who alone art God for ever and our Saviour, since thou hast promised us to stand before thee and to serve thee in priesthood. Therefore we render thanks to thee, we thy servants O Lord..... We offer to thee this thanksgiving, Eternal Trinity, O Lord Jesus Christ, O Lord the Father,....., O Lord the Holy Ghost, we have brought this drink and this food to thy holiness (so the derived Anaphora of our Lord): cause that it may be to us not for condemnation..... but for the medicine and support of our spirit." (*Ancient Church Order*, by Bishop A. J. Maclean, pp. 44, 45).

There is a slight development here, It is prayed that

the Lord may "cause that it may be to us not for condemnation.....but for the medicine and support of our spirit." It is not prayed that the Lord may do anything on the elements. I do not imply that this stage of development came to be only in *C. 400*, though we do not find this in any other extant document, *sic passim*.

Third Stage.

Again Dr. A. J. Maclean:—"The oldest known liturgy (the Ethiopic) has 'We beseech thee that thou wouldst send thine Holy Spirit on the oblation of this Church: give it together with the Holy Ghost,' etc. The nearly contemporary Verona Fragments have almost word for word the same." (*Early Christian life and Worship*, p. 29)

Here is a still further development. The Holy Spirit is invoked upon the elements; but no change in the elements, is prayed for. "Send Thine Holy Spirit on the oblation" was not intended to convey the meaning latterly attached to the expression—that the Holy Spirit may permeate the elements—it simply meant that He may come down to the elements and bless them. Invocation of the Holy Ghost on the elements will come in for consideration in chapter X.

Fourth Stage.

The Chaldean liturgy of Addai and Mari, which is admittedly one of the most ancient liturgies of Christendom, does not pray for any change in the elements, but only to bless and hallow them.

A mutilated form of this liturgy is now used by both the Chaldean Uniats and Syrian Uniats of Malabar. Neither of them made any change in the prayer we are just going to consider. The Chaldeans, as well as all other Orientals, place the Epiklesis after the Words of Institution. The Romo-Syrians have reversed the order. They have done so, I dare say, on the ground, that it is unreasonable to invoke the Holy Ghost to do anything on the elements, after the transubstantiation wrought by the Words of Institution. This difficulty will be removed, if the Recital of Institution, which effects the change, is placed after the prayer for the change. But the Chaldean Uniats, who in their edition of 1767 placed the Words of Institution after the Epiklesis, reversed it in their later edition. The Uniats under the Patriarch Ignatius have the Epiklesis after the Words of Institution.

Now to resume. The Epiklesis in the Chaldean liturgy is preserved *ipsissima verba* both by the Syrian Uniats of Malabar and the Chaldean Uniats. It is as follows:—

[illegible]

“ And may thy Holy Spirit, O my Lord, come and rest upon this oblation of thy servants, and may he bless it and hallow it, and may it be to us, O my Lord, for the pardon of debts and for the forgiveness of sins and for the great hope of resurrection from the dead, and for new life in the kingdom of heaven, with all those who have been well pleasing to thee.”

Here it is not prayed that any change may be wrought in the elements, but only to bless and hallow them so that they may be the means of blessing to the recipients.

Here is a definite prayer for the elements, though not for any change of elements.

Fifth Stage.

The later addition in the "Apostolic Constitutions," viz. VIIIth book, which, according to the Catholic Encyclopædia, was compiled in the 5th century (Vol. IX. p. 309), has "Send down upon this sacrifice Thine Holy Spirit, the Witness of the Lord Jesus' sufferings, that He may show this bread to be the

body of Thy Christ, and the cup to be the blood of Thy Christ." A. C. L. Vol. XVII, p. 232.)

The fourth century liturgy of Sarapion gives the following invocation :—" Let thy holy Word come upon this bread that the bread may become body of the Word, and upon this cup that the cup may become blood of the Truth." (*Bishop Sarapion's Prayer-book*, p. 63.)

" The word ' become ' implies no special medieval theory of the Eucharist," says Bishop Dr. A. J. Maclean, " but after all only means ' come to be ' ". (*Recent Discoveries illustrating early Christian Life and Worship*, p. 31.)

As it is said in Sarapion " This bread is the likeness of the holy body", (p. 62) the word " become " cannot in the least imply the medieval theory, but only what Tertullian says, " Made it His body, by saying ' This is my body ', that is the figure of my body". Anyhow the formula of consecration has developed almost into the form on which the medieval theory is supposed to rest.

Sixth Stage.

St. Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, 4th century, goes further: " Then we call upon God to send forth His Holy Spirit upon the gifts lying before Him, and that He may make the bread the body of Christ ; for whatsoever the Holy Ghost touched is sanctified and changed." (*Catechetical Lectures of St. Cyril*, p. 154.)

In St. Cyril the consecrating formula has reached its highest development or corruption. " Cyril's treatment", says the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, " marks an epoch in the history of Eucharistic teaching by introducing the conception of a mysterious change of elements. Taken literally, his language might seem to anticipate the later medieval doctrine. But his illustration from the miracle of Cana must not be taken too seriously. It is the language of popular teaching, not that of scientific theological statement. Lastly, it must be qualified by the expressions quoted above* from the Catechesis. Still it is an indication of the direction in which thought was moving." (Vol. V, p. 550.)

* The expressions referred to are in the following quotation :—" His (Cyril's) language embodies many of the characteristic features of previous teaching. The literal interpretation of the words of institution, the use of the word *figure* or type (*τύπος, αὐτίματος*), and the terms ' Spiritual bread ' and ' Spiritual drink ' are all employed." (p. 550.)

That this did not obtain wide vogue before the middle ages is beyond question. The "Testament of our Lord," 4th or 5th century, which neither invokes the Holy Ghost on the elements, nor prays for the elements, has already been quoted.

"One caution must be carefully borne in mind," says Dr. A. J. Maclean, "in considering ancient literature—that there was a much greater variety in Christian antiquity at different times and in different places than has often been thought." (*Recent Discoveries*, p. 124.)

Mar Jacob of Serugh, a Jacobite bishop of the VIth century, was in the habit of invoking the Son and the Holy Spirit on the elements. "Together with the priest," says he, "the whole people beseeches the Father that He will send His Son, that He may come down and dwell upon the oblation. And the Holy Spirit, His Power, lights down in the bread and wine, sanctifies (or 'Consecrates') it, yea, makes it the Body and the Blood." (A Homily of Mar Jacob of Serugh, *Downside Review*, November, 1908.)

Consecrating Formula and the Roman Liturgy.

Hitherto we were dealing with the Eastern liturgies. Let us now turn to the West.

As regards the formula of consecration Rome still maintains the primitive practice. It is passing strange that even the Roman Church, refused to adopt the prayer for the elements. Were it a primitive practice, Rome would be the last to throw it away.

Gregory the Great, Bishop of Rome, 6th and 7th centuries, has given us to understand that he did not consider essential any prayer whatever for the elements. "It was the custom of the Apostles," says he, "to consecrate the host of oblation to (ad) that same prayer (Lord's prayer) only. And it seemed to me very unsuitable that we should say over the oblation a prayer which a scholastic had composed, and should not say the very prayer* which our Redeemer composed over His body and blood" (*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. XIII, Gregory the Great, Book IX, Epistle XII, p. 253.)

We have the following footnote by the translator:—"As to what is said by S. Gregory of the custom of the Apostles,

* Foot note by the translator:—"The word found here is *traditionem*: but, because of the undoubted reference to the Lord's prayer (*dominica Oratio*) and of the verb *composuit*, it is conjectured that the reading ought to be *orationem*."

the most obvious meaning of which is, that they used no prayer of consecration but the Lord's prayer, we have no means of ascertaining whence he derived this tradition, or what the value of it might be. It does not, of course, imply that the words of institution were not said over the elements by the apostles but only that they used no other prayer for the purpose of consecration."

Regarding these words of Pope St. Gregory, Dr. Fortescue says :—" Next comes the question whether he (Gregory) meant that the Apostles consecrated by the Lord's prayer only. Amalarius of Metz seems to think he did. It certainly seems so : ' ad ipsam solummodo orationem ' seems to refer plainly enough to ' oratio dominica ' just before. Duchesne and most writers admit this as a curious mistake of the great Pope. But Probst denies it and sees in ' ipsa oratio ' an allusion to the Canon : he says that when Gregory means the Lord's prayer he always adds ' dominica.' Mgr. Battifol joins him and is quite indignant with people who see otherwise. We may notice as a curiosity that the late Dr. Schell took up this idea that the original consecration form was the Our Father and defended it, not only from Gregory's letter but from Justin Martyr and the Didache." (*The Mass*, p. 363.)

" We are not obliged to believe," so says Mgr. Duchesne, " in spite of the authority of this text, that the Apostolic Liturgy knew of no other formulary but the *Pater noster*, but it is difficult to argue against St. Gregory's having thought so." (*Christian Worship*, p. 184.)

It is anyhow clear enough, as Dr. Fortescue and Mgr. Duchesne admit, that Pope St. Gregory did not deem a prayer for the elements necessary for a valid Eucharistic consecration. Though a couple of prayers, *supplices te rogamus*, and *Quam oblationem*, in the modern Roman liturgy are advanced by eminent liturgists, some the former and others the latter, as the invocation, rather the ghost of an invocation, Rome does not hold that either of them has consecratory force, nor that any prayer for the elements is necessary for a valid consecration. Transubstantiation, Rome contends, takes place by the Recital of Institution. Were there a formula of consecration handed down from the apostles, Pope Gregory would by no means have been unaware of it, nor would so much diversity be found in the primitive records.

In the early formularies, as we have already observed,

there was no prayer for the elements. Words of Institution, in all probability, were recited all through the centuries, but not as the formula of consecration, as certain students of liturgiology think, but as that of administration. The practice of the early Church was to bless God for the bread and wine, as Jesus did, and to distribute the Eucharist (literally thanksgiving) i. e. "bread and wine and water for which thanks have been given" saying "This is the body," "This is the blood." (*Ante*. p.127—132)

Though the Easterns had several quarrels with Rome, they never condemned, during the early centuries (*scil.* round the 7th century) Rome's formula of consecration as invalid. It is, therefore, evident that early Christendom never considered the invocation of the Holy Ghost upon the elements to work a miraculous change as essential for a valid Eucharist. Now things have changed. "Of the two great traditional Christian Communions", to quote Mr. Edmund Bishop, "one, says that by the completion of the Recital of Institution the bread and wine have become the Body and Blood of our Lord, the other that they are only bread and wine still. And, as is evident from the mere statement of the case, this is no theological *scitum* only, that comes to the notice of and interests the Schools; but it is a practical matter, notorious among all the people and vital in the religious worship of every individual person belonging to those Communions. Nor does it seem that the two contradictory assertions can be resolved into a common affirmation except by way of retraction on the one part or the other, explicit or implicit but certainly actual, such as cannot but become notorious among the people too. This it is which from the theological point of view also (it would seem) makes the case so hardly manageable." (*The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, pp. 146, 147).

As to the doctrine of the Jacobite Church I have in the appendix given the opinion of a profound scholar in Syriac, the Most Rev. Mar Timothy Metropolitan. The Rev. M. T. Abraham Malpan, an equally eminent scholar, also was kind enough to send me a paper on the subject. Since its conclusion is the same as that of the other, I do not publish it.

Consecrating formula and the Chaldean liturgies.

Now let us again turn to the East. Though the Chaldeans did not insert in their chief liturgy already quoted, a prayer asking for a change in the elements, they inserted it in their

Spirit, and may he dwell and rest upon this oblation which we offer before thee. May he bless and consecrate it and make this bread and this cup to be the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; and do thou change and consecrate them by the operation of the Holy Spirit, in such wise that the taking of these glorious and holy mysteries may be to all such as receive them, unto eternal life and resurrection from the dead and absolution of the body and of the soul and unto the light of knowledge and to openness of face towards thee and unto that eternal salvation which thou hast promised us through our Lord Jesus Christ; that we may all cleave together in one accord unto one bond of love and peace and that we may be one body and one spirit as we are called in one hope of our calling. Let no man eat it and drink it to the condemnation of his body and soul; but let it not be to him unto weakness and sickness by reason of his sins in that he eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily; but may we wax strong and be confirmed in all those things that are well-pleasing to thee, being made worthy with a pure conscience to have communion in the body and blood of Christ."

There are certain common ideas in the three Chaldean liturgies. Amid the diversity of these formulæ we can easily recognise the vestiges of primitive practice and medieval accretions. Let us make a comparative study of these three formulas.

First, the consecrated bread is called by the simple name of bread in the last two liturgies. It must be borne in mind that some Jacobite divine removed "bread" from a place not so important as this. (*Supra*, p. 123—125). We have seen that the word "bread" still remains in the liturgies of the Coptics and the Armenians. It is, therefore, evident that the practice of calling the consecrated bread by the simple name of "bread" is the vestige of primitive practice in the Chaldean Church. In this particular place "bread" is used twice.

Let us next examine a passage which is common to all the three. Addai and Mari:—May it be to us, O my Lord, for the pardon of debts and for the forgiveness of sins and for the great hope of resurrection from the dead, and for new life in the kingdom of heaven, with all those who have been well pleasing to thee." (*Supra*, p. 134)

Theodore:—"And whoso in true faith eateth of this bread and drinketh of this cup, may they be to him, O my

Lord, for the pardon of debts and remission of sins, and for the great hope of resurrection from the dead and for the salvation of his body and of his spirit, and for life and glory for ever and ever."

Nestorius:—".....that the taking of these glorious and holy mysteries may be, to all such as receive them, unto eternal life and resurrection from the dead and absolution of the body and of the soul and unto the light of knowledge and to the openness of face towards thee and unto eternal salvation which thou hast promised us through our Lord Jesus Christ; that we may all cleave together in one accord unto one bond of love and peace and that we may be one body and one spirit, as we are called in one hope of our calling."

Though the last two Anaphoras are, according to Dr. Fortescue, of Byzantine origin, (*The Mass*, p. 86) these three prayers are evidently derived from a common primitive formulary. Let us see whether we can find out the primitive portions and the later accretions.

"Whoso in true faith" is not in the first. It is a very important omission because the idea that the efficacy of Eucharist depends upon faith is omitted. But the third has left out "in true faith" and made it "all such as receive them"—a worse change. By retaining "whoso" or "all such as" without "in true faith" the idea is entirely changed. The medieval tendency was to ascribe more and more power to the elements disregarding the mental attitude of worshippers. It is, therefore, evident that "in true faith" was in the primitive formulary.

Instead of "whoso.....eateth of this bread.....: may they be to him," the first reads "may it be to us," and the third "the taking of these glorious and holy mysteries may be to all such as receive them." Both the first and the third omitted "bread," while the third adopted "glorious and holy mysteries."

"May the bread become" of the second and "make this bread" and "change" of the third are not in the first. If they were primitive, they would not have been wanting in the first. The inevitable conclusion, now, is that the prayer for the change of bread and wine is a later accession. Invoking the Holy Spirit upon the elements has crept into all the three liturgies. This point will be discussed in Chapter X as already said.

Prayer of Consecration in St. Mark's Liturgy.

Orthodox "St. Mark :"
—"Send down then on us, and on these loaves, and on these cups, Thy Holy Ghost, that He may sanctify and perfect them, as God Almighty. (*Aloud*) And make this bread the Body. Amen. And this cup the Blood of the New Testament, of our very Lord and God and Saviour and universal King, Jesus Christ."

(Neale, p. 24)

Coptic "St. Mark" :—"Send him down upon us thy servants and upon these thy precious gifts which have been set before thee, upon this bread and upon this cup that they may be hallowed and changed and that he may make this bread the holy body of Christ and this cup also his precious blood of the New Testament even of our Lord and our God and Saviour, and the king of us all, Jesus Christ."

(Brightman, p. 179)

There are several differences between these prayers. The word "Changed" is in the Coptic "St. Mark," but not in the other.

Let us again turn to St. Mark's Liturgy. There we find an invocation of the Logos.

Jacobite "St. Mark:"
"Master Lord Jesus Christ, eternal Son and Word of the spotless Father, of one substance with the Holy Ghost: for thou art the living bread which came down from heaven and didst aforetime make thyself a lamb without spot for the life of the world: we pray and beseech thy goodness, O lover of man, [*he signs the bread*] make thy face to shine upon this bread, [*he signs the wine*] and upon this cup, which we have set upon this thy priestly table: [*first sign*] bless them, [*second sign*] sanctify them, [*third sign*] hallow them and change them, [*he*

Orthodox "St. Mark:" "Our Master, Jesus Christ, Lord, co-eternal Word of the self-existent Father and of the Holy Ghost, Thou that art the Great High Priest, the Bread that comest down from heaven, and bringest up our life from corruption, That didst give Thyself, a spotless Lamb, for the life of the world, we pray and beseech Thee, O Lord, Lover of men, cause Thy face to shine upon this bread and upon these chalices, which the most holy table receives, through the ministry of angels, and the surrounding choir of archangels, and the priestly hierurgy, to Thy glory and the renovation of our souls; through the grace

those of the Maronites (No. 20), the Syrian Uniat (Nos. 12, 13), Brightman, Etheridge, and the late Ramban Philipose (No. 41).

The next point here for consideration is this :—" So that they may sanctify the souls and spirits and bodies",

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which we find in the printed book No. 11. The power to sanctify the souls and bodies is ascribed here to the consecrated bread and wine ; whereas Gregorius Metropolitan's copy reads, " that they may be.....for the sanctification of souls and bodies " i. e. that they may be the means of sanctification, and this is exactly the words we find in the copies of Mar Ivanios Metropolitan, (No. 6) the Maronite Patriarch (No. 20), the Syrian Uniat Patriarch (Nos. 12, 13), Rev. Payampallil David Cathanar (No. 63) and others.

Let us turn to other liturgies. Orthodox " St. James":—" That they may be to those that partake of them, for remission of sins, and for eternal life, for sanctification of souls, and bodies, for bringing forth good works, for the confirmation of Thy Holy Catholic Church." (Neale, p. 52).

Orthodox " St. Mark ":—" That they may be to all of us who participate in them for faith, for sobriety, for healing, for temperance, for sanctification, for renovation of soul, body, and spirit, for participation of the blessedness of eternal life and immortality, for the glory of Thy holy Name, for the remission of sins." (Neale, p. 24).

Jacobite " St. Mark ":—" That they may be to us all who shall receive of them unto faith unsearchable, unto love without dissimulation, unto endurance perfected, unto hope established, unto faith, unto watchfulness, unto healing, unto joy, unto renewal of soul and body and spirit, unto glory of thine holy name, unto fellowship of blessedness of eternal life and immortality, unto forgiveness of sins." (Brightman, p. 180.)

Abyssinian Liturgy :—" That it be unto them for sanctification and for fulfilling with the Holy Ghost and for confirming true faith." (Brightman, p. 233)

Armenian Liturgy :—" So that this be to us all who draw nigh to it for release from condemnation and for the expiation and remission of sins." (Brightman, p. 439)

Liturgy of St. Chrysostom :—" So that they may be to those that participate, for purification of soul, forgiveness of sins, communion of the Holy Ghost, fulfilment of the kingdom of heaven, boldness towards Thee." (Neale, p. 115)

All these liturgies read " that they may be.....for."

We have seen this form in the three Chaldean liturgies quoted in this chapter that it may be for such and such blessings. The Syriac word there is *nehave* (the singular of *nehavoon* used here) which means " may be." Being dissatisfied with *nehavoon* some *divine* must have removed it and converted the prayer into one for the imparting of power to the elements to sanctify souls and bodies. If the Maronites and the Syrians, who entered the Roman communion during the 16th and 18th centuries respectively, were then aware of this correction, they would have taken and preserved it.

There is a still more primitive form. Bishop Sarapion's Prayer Book, 4th century:—"And make all who communicate to receive a medicine of life for the healing of every sickness and for the strengthening of all advancement and virtue, not for condemnation, O God of truth, and not for censure and reproach." (p. 63)

Apostolic Constitutions VIIIth Book :—" That those who are partakers thereof may be strengthened for piety and may obtain the remission of their sins, may be delivered from the devil and his deceit, may be filled with the Holy Ghost, may be made worthy of Thy Christ, and may obtain eternal life upon Thy reconciliation to them O Lord Almighty." (p. 232)

Liturgy of St. Clement :—" That all who shall partake of it may be confirmed in godliness, may receive remission of their sins, may be delivered from the devil and his wiles, may be filled with the Holy Ghost, may be made worthy of Thy Christ, and may obtain everlasting life." (Neale, p. 85)

Both in the VIIIth Book of the Apostolic Constitutions, admittedly a later addition, and in the liturgy of St. Clement the prayer is that the partakers of the Eucharist " may be confirmed", etc. That is what we find in Sarapion's liturgy as well. This is slightly different from the other form, " that they may be.....for."

We now find that the *textus receptus* of the Jacobite Church of Malabar (No. 11) has advanced far from all the other liturgies of Christendom, and even from several manuscript copies of the Jacobite liturgy, in ascribing to the consecrated

bread and wine the power to sanctify the souls and bodies. Though No. 11 is the standard among the Jacobites of Malabar, it is not so for the Jacobite Church in general. In short the formula of consecration is not yet fixed in the Jacobite "St. James." Various prayers composed by different divines are still in use.

CHAPTER IX.

EXCLAMATION REGARDING THE DESCENT OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

The deacon's exclamation before the epiklesis in the Jacobite "St. James" according to Mar Ivanios is this:—
 "My beloved, how fearful is this moment and how dreadful is this time, when the Holy Spirit descends from Heaven, from the heights above, and dwells upon this Holy Qurbana, and sanctifies It. Stand ye in silence and pray".* (p. 14)

What was the form of this exclamation during the 10th century? Moses Bar Kepha says:—

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"The deacon says, Stand in silence and fear. He invites the people for the indwelling of the Holy Spirit asking them to stand in silence and fear. As the gift of the Holy Spirit

* The very same exclamation—word for word the same—is given in the Forms of Baptism and the Consecration of *Muron* (Holy oil), Eucharist being substituted by water and oil respectively.

For Bar Salib says :—"The deacon invites the people for the indwelling of the Holy Spirit." He does not say that the deacon intimates the people of the Holy Spirit's illapse on the offering.

According to the copies of both Bar Kepha and Bar Salib the deacon invites the people for the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, and does not intimate them that the Holy Ghost is coming upon the elements.

We have two forms of exclamations now extant. The one is quoted already and the other is the following :—"In silence and fear stand and pray. The peace and tranquillity of God the Father of us all be with us. Cry we and say we thrice, Kurillison, Kurillison, Kurillison." (Brightman, p. 88). The exclamation in Bar Kepha as well as in the two British Museum MSS. begins with the words, "In silence and fear." (Howard, p. 229) "Stand ye in silence and pray" is in Mar Ivanios also. (*Ante. p. 148.*)

It is therefore evident that the original exclamation began with these words. But there is in this exclamation no invitation to the people for the indwelling of the Holy Ghost ; whereas Bar Kepha and Bar Salib tell us there was such an invitation.

That invitation does not agree with the succeeding Invocation in its present form. When the Epiklesis assumed the present form will be discussed in the next chapter. It is immaterial for the point I am now on. When the Epiklesis assumed the present form, the condition was this : the deacon "invites the people for the indwelling of the Holy Spirit ;" at once the priest invokes the Father to send his Holy Spirit to work a great miracle on the elements. Seeing that the one is not consistent with the other some divine must have deleted that invitation.

There is, therefore, no gainsaying the fact that this form, the form given in Brightman, together with an invitation to the people for the indwelling of the Holy Ghost is the original form of exclamation.

By striking out this invitation the exclamation is turned into an exhortation to prayer and the inconsistency is thereby removed.

Another divine deemed this correction unsatisfactory. He was not satisfied with the removal of the inconsistency, but he wanted to make the exclamation in entire agreement with

the succeeding prayer, and so he must have made a further correction into the form quoted in the beginning of this chapter.

Though that form is not accepted by all the Jacobites, it has an enormous vogue among them.

As to "Fear and awe attaching to the Eucharistic Service" Mr. Edmund Bishop has an interesting chapter. "What imports," says he, "is that they are designed to bring into prominence in the mind of the people not the communion but the consecration." (*Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, p. 92) And again:—"Hardly any change could work so powerfully or profoundly on the Christian mind as one whereby that which is preeminently the sacrament of love became, in itself, invested with attributes of cultual dread." (p. 93)

CHAPTER X

EPIKLESIS

As a continuation of Chapter VIII, "Formula of Consecration," let us have a careful study of the Epiklesis, which in the East is the formula of consecration. This may be divided into two parts: (a) the invocation of the Holy Spirit to descend upon the elements, (b) the invocation of the Holy Spirit to change the elements. The second part was partly discussed in chapter VIII.

I quote below the Invocations of the Holy Ghost given in four liturgies, Orthodox "St. James," Jacobite "St. James," Orthodox "St. Mark," and Jacobite "St. Mark."

Orthodox "St. James:—"

Jacobite "St. James:—"

"*Priest.* And set not at nought Thy people, O Lord and Lover of men, for me and for my sins. For Thy people and Thy Church supplicate Thee.

People. Have mercy upon us, Lord God, Father Almighty.

Priest. Have mercy on us, God Almighty. Have mercy on us, God our

"*Priest.* Have mercy upon us, O God the Father, and send upon us and upon these offerings Thy Holy Spirit, the Lord equal to Thee and to the Son in the throne and kingdom and essence eternal; who spake in thy Old and New Testaments; and descended like a dove upon our Lord Jesus Christ in the river Jordan, and like tongues of fire upon the Apostles in the upper room.

Saviour. Have mercy on us, O God, according to Thy great goodness, and send upon us, and upon these proposed gifts, Thy most Holy Ghost, (*He bends his head,*) the Lord and Life-giving; sharer of the throne and of the kingdom with Thee, God and Father, and Thine Only-Begotten Son, consubstantial and co-eternal, Who spake in the Law, and the Prophets, and Thy New Testament, Who descended in the form of a dove on our Lord Jesus Christ in the river Jordan, and rested on Him, Who descended upon Thy holy Apostles in the likeness of fiery tongues in the upper room of the holy and glorious Sion, at the day of Pentecost; send down the same most Holy Ghost, Lord, upon us, and upon these holy and proposed gifts, (*he raises himself and saith aloud*), that coming upon them with His holy and good and glorious presence, He may hallow and make this bread the holy Body of Thy Christ.

People. Amen.

Priest. And this cup the precious Blood of Thy Christ."

(Neale, pp. 51, 52.)

Hear me, O Lord;

Hear me, O Lord; Hear me,
O Lord and spare and have
mercy upon me.

People. Kurillison, Kurillison,
Kurillison.

Priest. so that He (the Holy Spirit) may abide and make this bread the life-making body, the saving body, the body of Christ our God,

People. Amen.

Priest. and that he may thoroughly make this cup the blood of the New Testament the saving blood, the blood of Christ our God."

Orthodox "St. Mark:—" "And we pray and beseech Thee, O good God and Lover of men, to send down from Thy holy height, and appointed habitation, and incircumscribed bosom, the very Paraclete, the Spirit of truth, the Holy, the Lord, the Life-giving: Who spake in the Law and by the Prophets and the Apostles; Who is everywhere present, and filleth all things, and works of His own free will, and not as a minister, according to Thy good pleasure, in those in whom He wills, sanctification. One in His nature, manifold in his energies, fountain of Divine graces; consubstantial with Thee, proceeding from Thee, fellow-sharer in the Throne of Thy kingdom, and of Thine Only-Begotten Son, Our Lord and God and Saviour, Jesus Christ. Send down then on us, and on these loaves, and on these cups, thy Holy Ghost, that He may sanctify and perfect them, as God Almighty (*Aloud*). And make this bread the Body.

People. Amen.

Priest. And this cup the Blood of the New

Jacobite "St. Mark:—" "Hear, o Lord, the prayer of thy people, give heed unto the groan of thy servants, nor by reason of mine own sins and the defilements of my heart deprive thy people of the descent of thine Holy Spirit.

(Here the priest cries aloud)

For thy people and thy church beseech thee saying, Have mercy upon us, o God the Father almighty, Have mercy upon us, o God the Father almighty, and send down from thine holy height and from heaven thy dwelling place and from thine infinite bosom, from the throne of the kingdom of thy glory, him, the Paraclete, thine Holy Spirit, who is hypostatic, the indivisible, the unchangeable, who is the Lord, the giver of life, who spake in the law and the prophets and the apostles, who is everywhere, who filleth all places and no place containeth him: and of his own will after thy good pleasure working sanctification on those in whom he delighteth, not ministerially: simple in his nature, manifold in his operation, the fountain of the graces of God, who is of one substance with thee, who proceedeth from thee, the sharer of the throne of the kingdom of thy glory with thine only begotten Son our Lord and our God and our Saviour and the king of us all, Jesus Christ: send him down upon us thy servants and upon these thy precious gifts which have been set before

Bar Kepha says :—

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“Many ignorant priests, at this juncture, beat their foreheads with their hands. They do not understand that it is quite out of place here. It may have a show of repentance of past sins. Nevertheless as the gift of the Holy Spirit is given in silence, it is not proper that at this juncture a priest should beat his forehead with his hand.”

Bar Salib says :—

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“Some ignorant priests, at this juncture, were in the habit of beating their foreheads with their hands. In this there was a show of repentance of past sins. Moses Bar Kepha says that this is quite out of place here. Spiritual gifts are given in silence, not in hubbub.”

It is a pity that the Jacobites adopted and maintain this practice in spite of its condemnation by Bar Kepha and Bar Salib.

Let us next discuss the Epiklesis proper. Invocations of the Holy Spirit in "St. James" and "St. Mark" are, no doubt, derived from the same source. Perhaps the Epiklesis was the same in these two liturgies during the sixth century. After the split of the sixth century the Orthodox and the Jacobites of Syria as well as those of Alexandria made corrections and additions in the Epiklesis and consequently we have it in four forms.

When we carefully compare the invocations quoted from the four liturgies, we shall find that this was originally an invocation of the Holy Spirit upon worshippers, and that it was afterwards converted into one upon the elements.

I. In some copies we read "send upon us and upon these offerings" and in others "send upon these offerings." Being the *textus receptus* (No. 11) the latter is now in vogue among the Jacobites of Malabar. A scrutiny of this portion of the Jacobite liturgy will convince the readers that "upon us" is inappropriate here. The prayer is to send down the Holy Ghost to work a great miracle on the bread and wine placed on the table. It is not at all prayed that the Holy Spirit may do anything on worshippers. Further the deacon exclaims only about the Holy Spirit's illapse on the elements. "Send upon us" has no place whatever in a prayer, which invokes the Father to send his Holy Spirit upon the elements in order to work a very extraordinary miracle on them, and much less in a prayer which follows the exclamation of the deacon to the effect that the Holy Spirit is descending on the elements not on the people. That this has no place here is the opinion of the late Geevarughese Mar Dionysius Metropolitan and others, because they published a liturgy without this.

Now we have before us two alternatives: either "send upon us" was latterly thrust by somebody into this place, where it has no place whatever, or this was primitive and somebody has made such radical changes here as to render this quite out of place. The first alternative is entirely untenable. That "send upon us" is primitive is abundantly proved by the Orthodox "St. James," Orthodox "St. Mark," Jacobite "St. Mark," the Armenian Liturgy (Brightman, p. 439), the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom (Neale, p. 114), and the Jacobite "St. James" such as those of Moses Bar Kepha, Dionysius Bar Salib (vide ch. II), the late Patriarch Abdulla (No. 19), the late Yoyakim Mar Curilos Metro-

politan (Nos. 22,23), the late Mar Severios Metropolitan (No. 31), the late Mar Gregorios Metropolitan (No. 33), the Most Rev. Augen Mar Timotheus Metropolitan (No. 30), and the Most Rev. Paulos Mar Athanasius Metropolitan (No. 25).

It is, therefore, evident that somebody converted the Invocation of the Holy Ghost upon worshippers into one upon the elements and thereby made "upon us" inappropriate here.

II. Not only the words "upon us" but also prayers for the congregation are still found as vestiges of the past in the Invocations of certain liturgies.

In the ancient liturgy of the Abyssinians we find that the deacon during the Epiklesis exclaims as follows:—

"With all the heart we beseech the Lord our God that he vouchsafe unto us the good communion of the Holy Ghost." (Brightman, p. 233)

In Homily XVII of Narsai, one of the pillars of the early Nestorian Church (5th and 6th centuries), we find a commentary of his liturgy which is 'not now extant.* "He summons the Spirit," Narsai says, "to come down and dwell in the bread and wine and make them the Body and Blood of King Messiah. To the Spirit he calls, that He will also light down upon the assembled congregation, that by His gift it may be worthy to receive the Body and Blood." (*Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, p. 20).

As Narsai is one who ascribes more and more power to the elements, it cannot for a moment be supposed that the prayer for the operation of the Holy Spirit upon worshippers was an innovation of his. We, therefore, cannot but conclude that the prayer for the congregation was in the Epiklesis of the primitive Chaldean liturgy of Addai and Mari and was subsequently deleted.

The Liturgy of St. Chrysostom:— "Send down Thy Holy Ghost upon us, and on these proposed gifts.

"*The deacon.....goes nearer to the Priest, and they both adore thrice before the holy Table, praying secretly, saying,*

* "I conclude then," says Dom R. H. Connoily, "that in A (Homily XVII) we have an account of a liturgy which Narsai drew up, following closely an older Persian rite, attributed to Addai and Mari, except in the anaphoral portion where, for reasons of his own, he felt it desirable to make a somewhat drastic revision." (*Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, p. LXIV).

“ God be merciful to me a sinner

“ *Then*

“ Lord, Who didst send down Thy Holy Ghost the third hour on the Apostles, take Him not from us, O good God, but renew Him in us who pray to Thee.” (Neale, p. 114)

These vestiges argue that at this juncture there was a prayer that the Holy Ghost may work upon worshippers.

We find this in some anaphoras of the Jacobites.

The Jacobite Anaphora of the Twelve Apostles :—“ Have mercy upon us, O Lord, have mercy upon us, and send to usThy Spirit.....and may He brood over this offering, and make it the life-making Body; and may He pardon and sanctify us.” (Howard, p. 284.)

Anaphora of Mar. Eustathius :—“ Send the gift of Thy Holy Ghost on these offerings set before thee and on me. Cleanse me a sinner, from the stains of sin, and strengthen me for the pure and holy service.” (No. 11, p. 139.)

Anaphora of Mar Julius :—“ Send thy Holy Spirit.....on these offerings and on us. May he brood over these offerings, and dwell in us and cleanse our hearts.” (No. 11, p. 149.)

Anaphora of St. Peter, the chief Apostle :—“ Send thy Holy Ghost on us and on these offerings. Sanctify them and help me and purify me.” (No. 11, p. 167.)

Anaphora of Mar Isaac :—“ Send thy Holy Ghost on us and on these offerings set before thee. Let him abide in our hearts.” (No. 11, p. 184.)

Anaphora of Mar Abraham :—“ May thy Holy Spirit sanctify these offerings really and cleanse and purify me, a sinner.” (No. 11, p. 192.)

Anaphora of St. Simon Kepha :—“ Send for us thy Holy Ghost.....Let him descend and abide on our offerings and on us who are weak. Enable us to enjoy the fragrance and brightness of his coming. Let him abide in us and in these offerings and sanctify them.” (No. 129.)

Anaphora of St. Ignatius Nuroño :—“ Send for us thy Holy Ghost.....Let him by his overshadowing sanctify these mysteries and make me pure.” (No. 16, p. 208.)

Anaphora of Patriarch Peter :—“ Send down from thy holy height thy Holy Ghost.....Let him abide and rest on

these offerings and on us who are sinners and purify us, though we are unworthy." (No. 16, p. 184.)

Anaphora of Patriarch Mar John, the son of Susan :—" Shed thy Holy Spirit.....on me and on these offerings. Do not by reason of my sins deprive thy people of thy divine gifts." (No. 129.)

Anaphora of Mar Cyril the Great:—"Let thy Holy Ghost come down and dwell upon these offerings and abide in our hearts. I pray thee, O merciful One, have mercy upon me and revive me. Shed thy gift upon me and purify me. Withdraw not thy grace from me because of the uncleanness and foulness of my deeds. For I know, my Lord, that I have sinned. I confess that I have committed wickedness. Thy mercies are abundant and thy grace immeasurable. May Thy Holy Ghost come unto me and remove the filth of my soul, remit my debts, purify my thoughts, accept my sacrifices and offerings." (No. 16, p. 195.)

Anaphora of Mar Dionysius, the bishop of Athens :—" Wash away all the impurity of my thoughts and deeds, and send the Holy Ghost upon me and on this offering." (No. 135.)

Anaphora of Mar Philoxenos :—" Blot out the sins which we have committed against thee. May thy hyssop, which makes everything pure cleanse us of our defilements and purify us." (No. 135.)

Anaphora of Mar Ivanios :—" Send thy Holy Spirit from his dwelling place.....may he purify me." (No. 16, p. 104.)

Anaphora of Mar Mathai :—" Deprive not thy people of thy divine gifts." (No. 16, p. 119.)

Anaphora of Mar Michael:—"My soul which is miserable on account of evil thoughts and misdeeds, purify it of the multitudes of iniquities with which I defiled it. Deprive me not of thy grace by reason of my sins. Remit my sins out of thy mercy. Purify me out of thy grace.....Make atonement for the rational sheep, thy whole church." (No. 135.)

Anaphora of St. Mark :—" May he, by the multitude of thy grace perfect us as the chosen vessels fit for thy service." (No. 135.)

Anaphora of Patriarch John :—" May the Holy Spirit... ..by thy abundant grace make me worthy for the service of thy majesty." (No. 33.)

In some of the Anaphoras quoted above we find *me* instead of *us*. In the anaphora of St. Mark according to No. 16 we read "perfect me as the chosen vessel", though it is, as quoted above, "perfect us as the chosen vessels" according to No. 135.

In some MSS. of the Jacobite "St. James," such as Nos. 47, 59, 65, we read, "Send on *me* (instead of *us*) and on these offerings thy Holy Spirit." Some substituted *me* for *us* and some dropped *us* altogether. It is therefore evident that *me* in the above quoted anaphoras was originally *us*.

When the medieval divines converted the Invocation of the Holy Ghost upon worshippers into one upon the elements, they removed every exhortation and prayer regarding the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the people, and it is only by an oversight that the above quoted passages are preserved now.

These Jacobite anaphoras, it must be observed, were compiled after the pattern of the Jacobite "St. James," substituting each prayer by another having the same idea. The understanding is that they introduced no new idea. These prayers, no doubt, are violating even the structure of the Jacobite "St. James" in its present form. The Invocation of the Holy Ghost at this juncture is only to work a great miracle on the elements. The present structure of this liturgy, as already observed, is such as to induce many prominent Jacobite divines and the authorities of the Jacobite Church in Malabar to remove even the mere words, "upon us." One, who compiles an anaphora after the pattern of "St. James," would not introduce new ideas into it, new ideas which violate even the structure of the pattern. Further the idea under consideration is found not only in one or two anaphoras, but in eighteen of them. It must be borne in mind that the tendency during the middle ages, when these anaphoras were compiled, was to emphasise more and more the importance of the elements, not that of the personal operation of the Holy Spirit in the heart of worshippers. It is simply inconceivable that eighteen medieval authors at different places while compiling anaphoras after the pattern of the Jacobite "St. James" would introduce in the Epiklesis prayers for the operation of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of worshippers, violating even the structure of the pattern. It is, therefore, overwhelmingly evident that there was such a prayer in the Epiklesis of the Jacobite "St. James," when the above quoted anaphoras were compiled."

III. The Epiklesis, as well as the preceding exclamation of the deacon, was added by somebody in the Jacobite Form of Baptism composed by Bar Hebraeus of the 13th century. In the Epiklesis interpolated into this Form of Baptism there was a prayer for those to be baptized, which was subsequently removed by others. (*Infra*, Chapter XIV.) Had it not been for the fact that in the Epiklesis of the Eucharistic liturgy, which this interpolator was using, there was some prayer for worshippers, if the Epiklesis of that liturgy were merely a prayer for the bread and wine, he would have added an Epiklesis, which was a prayer for the water only, he would not have thought of a prayer for those to be baptized. It must be borne in mind, that he was thoughtlessly inserting into the Order of Baptism what he found in the liturgy. In the liturgy it was, "send upon us and upon these offerings thy Holy Spirit." In the Order of Baptism he added, "Send upon us and upon this water thy Holy Spirit." It did not even occur to his mind that the Form of Baptism was intended for those to be baptized, and that "us" should be substituted by "these persons who are going to be baptized."

In the Epiklesis of this interpolator's liturgy then there was left some prayer for worshippers, just as an exhortation inviting the people to receive the Holy Spirit and prayers to renew the Holy Spirit in worshippers and cleanse them are even now left in the Invocations of the Abyssinian liturgy, the liturgy of St. Chrysostom, and certain Anaphoras of the Jacobites. We cannot fix the exact date of this interpolation in the Baptismal Form, except that it was after the 13th century, because it was the Baptismal Form of the 13th century that was tampered with. Now we cannot but conclude that there was left some prayer for the people in the Epiklesis of the Jacobite Anaphora of St. James till some time after the 13th century.

Now some innovators removed from the Epiklesis in the Form of Baptism the prayer for those to be baptized, and others converted that in the Eucharistic liturgy into a prayer for the bread and wine, and removed even the traces of a prayer for worshippers.

The foregoing pieces of evidence prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that in the Epiklesis of the Jacobite "St. James" there was some prayer for the operation of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of worshippers. The primitive practice, therefore,

was to invoke the Holy Spirit, that he might come upon worshippers, and enlightening their eyes enable them to realize the Saviour, who shed his blood for their redemption, and his unfathomable love. To this somebody added a prayer for the elements, and that growing more and more important crowded out gradually the prayer for the congregation, and it came to a climax when the last vestige, "upon us," was deleted from the Jacobite "St. James."

It may be contended that together with the prayer for worshippers there was from the very beginning a prayer for the elements as well. That it was not so was proved already in Chapter VIII. Let me adduce a few more pieces of evidence from the liturgies of St. James and St. Mark.

I. It has been shown in the last chapter that the exclamation preceding the Epiklesis was an invitation to the people for the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, not an intimation that he was coming upon the elements, and that that being inconsistent with the succeeding prayer was corrected and a new exclamation was interpolated by some divine. During the 10th and 12th centuries there were prayers both for worshippers and for the elements. Were it so from the very beginning, both would have been found in the exclamation as well. Since during the 10th and 12th centuries there was nothing in the exclamation regarding the descent of the Holy Ghost on the elements, we cannot but conclude that the prayer for the elements was not originally there.

II. The prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost in the Jacobite Liturgy of St. Mark begins with "Hear o Lord, the prayer of thy people.....nor by reason of mine own sins and the defilements of my heart deprive *thy people* of the descent of thy Holy Spirit." From this it is very clear that the purpose of the prayer is the illapse of the Holy Ghost on the people. In the Orthodox liturgy of St. Mark we do not find these words. The reason is not far to seek. When the Orthodox made the elements the object the Holy Ghost was to descend on, they felt that such a prayer should not begin with these words, and consequently they removed them from their liturgy so that the prayer might become consistent. In the Orthodox "St. James" we read, "Set not a thought Thy people, O Lord and lover of men, for me and for my sins." This is, no doubt, derived from "Nor by reason of mine own sins.....deprive thy people of the descent of thy Holy Spirit."

The Orthodox who use the liturgy of St. James as well became alive to the fact that a prayer for the illapse of the Holy Spirit on the offerings should not begin with "Nor.....deprive thy people of the descent of thine Holy Spirit," and consequently they removed them and substituted "set not at nought thy people." But the Orthodox who use the liturgy of St. Mark, as well as the Jacobites who use the liturgy of St. James, deleted these words which make the prayer inconsistent. Now we come to the conclusion that "nor by reason of mine own sins.....deprive thy people of the descent of the Holy Spirit" was in the liturgies of St. James and St. Mark used by four sects, and that two sects entirely deleted it, one sect made certain alterations and another sect by sheer oversight retains it intact. It may be asked, what if we suppose that these words were not in the original Liturgy of St. Mark, but were subsequently added by the Jacobites. The answer is very simple. No man of common sense will do it. For by doing so he makes the prayer inconsistent. Could it be possibly maintained that there is no inconsistency, if a prayer beginning with "Nor.....deprive thy people of the descent of thine Holy Spirit" ends with "Send him.....down upon.....these gifts"? But it is quite possible that a man, when making changes in a prayer, may by oversight leave some words in it, which do not agree with the changes he has made. Instead of the prayer, "Nor by reason of mine own sins and the defilement of my heart deprive thy people of the descent of thine Holy Spirit," we read, "Withdraw not the grace of Thy Holy Spirit from the Gifts lying before Thee, because of my sins," in the Liturgy of St. Basil, though not in the identical place. (Neale, p. 140). If the Coptic Jacobites adopted the latter prayer in the place of the former, their prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost would have been consistent. Further when we find the same in a mutilated form in the Orthodox "St. James," it is not possible to raise the above contention at all. Now we cannot but conclude "Nor.....deprive thy people of the descent of thine Holy Ghost" was in the Epiklesis in its primitive form and was removed by the Orthodox. If this is primitive, "send him down upon these gifts" is a later addition.

III. In the Epiklesis there is another important difference between the two liturgies of St. Mark.

Jacobite "St. Mark:—" Orthodox "St. Mark:—" "Holy Spirit who is everywhere, who filleth all places, and filleth all things." and no place containeth Him."

"No place containeth Him," is not in the Orthodox Liturgy. Why is it? Because it is not favourable to the idea of localisation which is here prayed for. When they converted the primitive prayer, into one for the localisation of God in the elements, they felt that they must remove this statement. One does not imply, that the statement in question, is quite incompatible with the localisation here prayed for, but this statement, in all probability, would not have been in it, if it were, in the primitive form, an Invocation of the Holy Ghost upon the elements.

IV. It goes without saying, that the Epiklesis, as it now stands, emphasises the Spirit's coming upon the elements in order to work a miracle upon them, not upon worshippers. When we examine the prayers for the descent of the Holy Ghost, in both the Liturgies of St. Mark, he is described as one who is "working sanctification on those in whom (not on those things in which) he delighteth," and in all the four Liturgies under consideration, as one who has worked in the Prophets and the Apostles. He is not described as one who has worked upon or sanctified any inanimate object. They could have described him as the one who "moved upon the face of the deep." This is the text often quoted in vain to prove the reasonableness of invoking the Holy Spirit upon the elements.

If it were a prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the elements, he would have been described as one who is "working sanctification" on inanimate objects also.

Now we have found that the Invocation of the Holy Ghost was originally for the people and not for the elements.

The following quotations support my conclusion.

"In the fragments of the Roman Canon," to quote the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, "in the *de sacramentis* we find in place of the invocation of the Holy Spirit (1) a prayer to God to make the oblation approved, ratified, reasonable, acceptable, because it is a figure of the body and blood of Jesus Christ." (Vol. V, p. 553.)

While speaking about the Council of Florence in 1440 Dr. Heinrich Brueck says :—" As respects the ' Epiklesis,' the Greeks declared that consecration takes place by the words used by Christ, and that the ' Epiklesis '.....only petitioned ' that the Holy Ghost should descend upon us and in us, make the bread into the precious body of Christ..... that it may be to the recipient for the purification of his soul and the remission of his sins, and not to his judgment and condemnation.' A similar official declaration was given by Bessarion on the 5th of July, in the name of all the Greek Bishops. Harduin, IX. 403; Mansi, XXXI. 1045 " (*History of the Catholic Church for use in [Roman Catholic] Seminaries, and Colleges*, Vol II, p. 96)

" Invocation of the Holy Ghost is not primitive," says Dr. Fortescue. (*The Mass*, p. 402). " The first traces of an Invocation," to quote Dr. Fortescue again, " we find (in the normal place) ask not for the change of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, but for grace to be given to the communicants, nor do they all ask explicitly for the Holy Ghost." (*The Mass*, p. 403)

CHAPTER XI

THE SACRIFICE OF THE MASS

"Tremendous Sacrifice."

The first point for our consideration is how " tremendous and unbloody sacrifice " got into liturgies. In certain liturgies we find this expression in the prayer of oblation which intervenes between the Words of Institution and the Epiklesis. I shall quote this prayer from different liturgies.

The Liturgy of the Abyssinian Jacobites, the Anaphora of the Apostles :— " Now also, Lord, remembering his death and his resurrection, we confess thee and offer unto thee this bread and this cup, giving thanks unto thee." (Brightman, p. 233).

Anaphora of the Ethiopic Church Ordinances :— " Remembering therefore his death and his resurrection we offer thee this bread and cup giving thanks unto thee." (Ibid, p. 190).

The Testament of our Lord :—" Remembering, therefore,

thy death and resurrection, we offer to thee bread and cup." (*Ancient Church Order*, A. J. Maclean, pp. 44, 45).

Liturgy of St. Clement :—" Wherefore having in remembrance His passion, death, and resurrection from the dead, His return into heaven, and His future second appearance, when He shall come with glory and power to judge the quick and the dead, and to render to every man according to his works ; we offer to Thee, our King and our God, according to this institution, this bread and this cup." (Neale, pp. 84, 85).

Orthodox Liturgy of St. Mark :—" We, announcing the death of Thine Only-begotten Son, our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, and confessing His blessed Resurrection from the dead on the third day, confess also His Ascension into heaven, and His session on thy right hand, His God and Father, looking also for His second and fearful and dreadful coming, when He shall come to judge the quick and the dead in righteousness, and to render to every man according to his works: O Lord our God, we have set before Thee Thine own of Thine own gifts." (Neale, p. 23).

Coptic Liturgy of St. Mark :—" Now also, o God the Father almighty, showing the death of thine only-begotten Son our Lord and our God and our Saviour and the king of us all Jesus Christ, confessing his holy resurrection and his ascension into the heavens and his session at thy right hand, o Father, looking for his second advent, coming from the heavens, fearful and glorious at the end of this world, wherein he cometh to judge the world in righteousness and to render to every man according to his works whether it be good or bad before thine holy glory we have set thine own gift of thine own, o our holy Father." (Brightman, p. 178).

Liturgy of St. Chrysostom :—" We therefore remembering this salutary precept, and all that happened on our behalf, the Cross, the Tomb, the Resurrection on the third day, the Ascension into heaven, the Session on the right hand, the second and glorious coming again, in behalf of all, and for all, we offer Thee Thine own of Thine own." (Neale, p. 114).

Liturgy of St. Basil :—" Therefore, we also, O Master, remembering this saving Passion, the quickening Cross, the three days' Burial, the Resurrection from the dead, the Ascension to the heavens, the Session on Thy Right Hand, God and Father, and His glorious and terrible second Coming, Offer

Thee Thine own of Thine own, according to all, and through all." (Neale, pp. 133, 134).

Jacobite Liturgy of St. James :— " We commemorate, O Lord, Thy Death, and Thy Resurrection on the third day, and Thy Ascension into heaven and Thy session at the right hand of God the Father, and also Thy Second Coming when Thou shalt judge the World righteously and render to every man according to his deeds. Therefore we offer unto Thee this bloodless sacrifice." (Mar Ivanios, p. 14). The Syriac liturgy printed in Travancore (No. 11) and almost all manuscripts agree with this. But the manuscripts of Brightman and Etheridge and the liturgy of the Syrian Uniate under the Patriarch Ignatius are different. Instead of " this bloodless sacrifice " the above copies read, " this fearful and unbloody sacrifice." (Brightman, p. 87. Etheridge, p. 205. Missale Syriacum, p. 108).

Orthodox Liturgy of St. James :—" We therefore also, sinners, remembering His life-giving Passion, His salutary Cross, His Death, and Resurrection from the dead on the third day, His Ascension into heaven, and session on the right hand of Thee, His God and Father, and His glorious and terrible coming again, when He shall come with glory to judge the quick and the dead, and to render to every man according to his works, offer to Thee, O Lord, this tremendous and unbloody sacrifice." (Neale, p. 50).

It is evident from the uniformity of these prayers that all these are derived from a common source, and that was evidently a prayer offering the bread and wine which were brought to the church as offering by the faithful. Its simple primitive form is the one we see in the Abyssinian liturgy. In all other liturgies the prayer is more or less expanded.

The form of all Eastern liturgies is to narrate, in the very words of our Lord, the institution of the Lord's Supper, and to offer the bread and wine brought by the faithful and to pray the Lord to bless and hallow them. That the prayer under consideration is one which offers bread and wine is explicitly said in the Abyssinian Anaphora of the Apostles, the Anaphora of the Ethiopic Church Ordinances, the Testament of our Lord, and the liturgy of St. Clement. Mar Irenaeus the Jacobite bishop of Smyrna says:—" We offer as a sacrifice the bread and cup which we have blessed. We invoke the Holy Spirit that he may make the bread in this sacrifice.....,.....the body of our Lord." (See appendix).

In the two liturgies of St. Mark, and in those of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil we read, "offer thine own of thine own." These words are derived from I Chro. XXIX. 14, "Of thine own have we given thee." In a very large majority of copies of the Jacobite "St. James" "bloodless sacrifice" is offered. Whatever we offer to God is, no doubt, a sacrifice. So the offering of bread and wine is a bloodless sacrifice. The liturgy of St. Clement, and the Coptic "St. Mark," which offer "this bread and this cup," like the Jacobite Bishop Mar Irenæus of Smyrna, call the offering of bread and wine by the name of sacrifice. (Neale, p. 85. Brightman, p. 176).

The "bloodless sacrifice" of the Jacobite "St. James" need not be taken in any other sense. But the "tremendous and unbloody sacrifice," which we find in a few copies of the Jacobite "St. James" as well as in the Orthodox "St. James," has effected a radical change.

This is an example which shows what radical changes, primitive prayers have undergone during the dark night of the middle ages. The prayer, which offers the bread and wine, underwent change after change, and at last became one which offers "tremendous and unbloody sacrifice." There is a bridge in Madras which was called after one Hamilton; "Hamilton" was pronounced by the Tamilians as *Ampittan*, which in Tamil means barber. Now that bridge is called Barber's Bridge, translating the word *Ampittan* into English. This is a fitting illustration of the awful changes liturgical prayers are undergoing. The word "sacrifice," which got into the liturgy in an evangelical sense, developed, in course of time, into "tremendous and unbloody sacrifice," and is now used there several times in the latter sense.

Let us go further into the origin of this prayer of oblation.

"The amount of bread and wine to be consecrated," Dr. Fortescue says, "was taken from the large quantity offered. The rest was kept for the poor. There are many stories of and allusions to the offering by the people. Once when St. Gregory was saying Mass and was about to give Communion to a woman she laughed, because she recognized the bread she had herself offered. After the Xth century the offering of the gifts by the people gradually disappeared. Honorius of Autun (XIIth cent.) says that people give money instead of bread

and wine; so also St. Peter Damian (1072). (*The Mass*, pp. 299, 300).

".....the altar offerings," to quote Mr. Edmund Bishop, "by the people of the bread and wine for the sacrifice, which long continued to be made in the West but in the East fell generally at an early date into disuse." (*Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, p. 113).

"The fourth canon of the Council of Macon of 585 says this: 'Since we were assembled we have learnt from the report of brethren, that some Christians in some places have deviated from the divine command (*quosdam christianos.....a mandato Die aliquibus locis deviasse*).....in not offering a host at the sacred altar (*dum sacris altaribus nullam admorent hostiam*). Wherefore we decree that on every Sunday an offering as well of bread as of wine be made at the altar (*aris*) by all, men and women, that by these oblations (*immolationes*) they may obtain remission of their sins and may deserve to be sharers with Abel and the rest of just offerers (*et Abel vel ceteris juste offerentibus promereantur esse consortes*)' And the canon ends with menace of anathema for those who do not comply with its requirements (Bruns *Canones Apostolorum et conciliorum* II p. 250; *Mon. Germ. Concil* I p. 166...)" (Quoted by Edmund Bishop, *Ibid*, p. 115).

The oblations of bread and wine by men and women, it is said, will secure remission of their sins. And this is based on the view that every good deed will secure some remission of past sins. In the Jacobite liturgy as well as the Roman there are two oblations, one at the beginning of the service and the other after the Recital of Institution. The first is the oblation of the bread and wine, and the second, according to Rome, is that of the body and blood. The Easterns, who do not consider the Words of Institution as the consecrating formula, cannot reasonably hold that the second is an oblation of the body and blood of Christ. How then can it be a "tremendous" sacrifice?

"It is clear," says the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "from the evidence of the early Western liturgies that, for at least six centuries, the primitive conception of the nature of the Christian sacrifice remained. There is a clear distinction between the sacrifice and the communion which followed it, that which is offered consists of the fruits of the earth and not of the body and blood of Christ. Other ideas no doubt

attached themselves to the primitive conception, of which there is no certain evidence in primitive times, e.g. the idea of the propitiatory character of the offering, but these ideas rather confirm than disprove the persistence of those primitive conceptions themselves. All Eastern liturgies, in their present form, are of later date than the surviving fragments of the earlier Western liturgies and cannot form the basis of so sure an induction but they entirely confirm the conclusion, to which the Western liturgies lead. The main points in which the pre-medieval formularies of both the Eastern and the Western Churches agree in relation to the Christian sacrifice are the following. (1) It was an offering of the fruits of the earth to the Creator, in the belief that a special blessing would descend upon the offerers, and sometimes also in the belief that God would be propitiated by the offerings.....The Central point of the sacrificial idea was shifted from the offering of the fruits of the earth to the offering of the body and blood of Christ.....From that time until the Reformation the Christian sacrifice was all but universally regarded as the offering of the body and blood of Christ." (Vol. XXI, pp.139, 140).

Living Sacrifice.

Let us next take the deacon's exclamation at the beginning of the Anaphora.

Jacobite "St. James."—"Deacon. Barekmore. Brethren, let us stand well with awe, reverence, purity, holiness, love and true faith, and watch this Holy Qurbana which is offered before us by this reverend Priest. For he offers this living Sacrifice to God the Father in unity and peace on behalf of us all.

"Congregation. This Qurbana is blessing, peace, sacrifice and thanksgiving." (Mar Ivanios, p. 12.)

The exclamations of the deacon and the people quoted above are not in the copy which Bishop Middleton got from Malabar. (Hough, pp. 634, 623 f. n.)

Jacobite "St. James" according to the copy of Brightman:—

"The deacon. Stand we fairly.

"The people. Mercies, peace (a sacrifice of praise)" (p. 85).

Howard says that this exclamation of the deacon varies in copies obtained from different places. (p. 224).

Orthodox "St. James" :— "*Deacon.* Let us stand with piety; let us stand with the fear of God and compunction of heart; let us attend to the holy Anaphora, to offer peace to God.

"*People.* The mercy of peace, the sacrifice of praise." (Neale, p. 47).

The portion quoted from the Jacobite liturgy translated by the Most Rev. Mar Ivanios Metropolitan is not in the Orthodox "St. James" nor in several copies of the Jacobite "St. James." The copy of the Jacobite liturgy which Brightman translated agrees with the Orthodox "St. James." Some Jacobite divines made radical changes there, but those changes are not accepted by all.

Sacrifice in behalf of the Church.

Jacobite "St. James" according to Howard. Litany No. 1. Priest's private prayer :— "We offer unto Thee, O Lord, this unbloody sacrifice in behalf of holy Sion, the mother of all the Churches, and in behalf of the holy Church which is in all the world." (p. 231).

Hough and the Syriac edition of this liturgy printed in Travancore (No. 11) agree with this.

Jacobite "St. James" according to Brightman :— "Wherefore we offer unto thee, o Lord, this same fearful and unbloody sacrifice for these thine holy places which thou hast glorified by the manifestation of thy Christ and especially for the holy Sion the mother of all churches: and for thine holy church which is in all the world." (pp. 89, 90). Etheridge agrees with this. (p. 207).

"For these thine holy places which thou hast glorified by the manifestation of thy Christ and especially" is, no doubt, a later addition.

Orthodox "St. James," (not in the identical place) :— "We offer them also to Thee, O Lord, for thy holy places which Thou hast glorified by the divine apparition of Thy Christ, and by the advent of Thine All-Holy Spirit: especially for the glorious Sion, the mother of all Churches. And for Thy holy Catholic Apostolic Church throughout the world." (Neale, p. 52).

This contains the later addition of some Jacobites shown above and another addition, viz. "And by the advent of Thine All-Holy Spirit." The Orthodox, in all probability,

cross. The Syriac word *Desdabar* translated "wrought" here does not mean "appointed," or "instituted," or "administered," or "dispensed," as certain authors have translated it. It means, according to the well-known Dictionary of Payne Smith:—"To be led, guided, driven, led or carried away, conduct oneself, act, hence to live."

The prayer may have undergone some change. The word "this," in all probability, is an addition. Nevertheless "this mystery" cannot mean the Eucharist. In the Orthodox "St. James" it is "this mystery planned for our salvation." Here it probably means the Eucharist. The Orthodox thrust into the liturgy the ideas that the Eucharist is a propitiatory sacrifice, and that that is a mystery planned for our salvation.

There are some other prayers in the Jacobite liturgy which give expression to the doctrine under consideration; but they are not in the Orthodox Liturgy and consequently are of a later origin. There are certain prayers to this effect, in the Orthodox Liturgy which are not in the Jacobite Liturgy.

The idea of the sacrifice of the Mass is entirely absent in the Abyssinian "Anaphora of the Apostles." (Brightman, pp. 228—244.)

In the "Anaphora of Addai and Mari" the Eucharist is called sacrifice only once:—"I may offer before thee this sacrifice living and holy and acceptable which is a memorial of the passion and the death and the burial and the resurrection of our Lord." (Brightman, p. 271). Here the sacrifice is said to be a memorial of the death of Christ.

CHAPTER XII

THE EUCHARIST AND THE FORGIVENESS OF SINS

Jacobite "St. James"—"He.....gave to His holy Apostles saying, Take, eat of this. This is My Body which is broken for you and for the many, and given for the remission of sins and for life everlasting.....saying, Take, drink ye all, of this. This is My Blood which is shed for you and for the many, and given for the remission of sins and for life everlasting." (Mar Ivanios, p. 13.)

Here is a misquotation of the words of our Lord. I shall quote the words of Jesus from the three Gospels and from the first Epistle to the Corinthians.

Orthodox "St. James."

Deacon. Let us bow our heads to the Lord.

People. To Thee, O Lord.

Priest. To Thee, O Lord, we Thy servants have bowed our necks before Thy Holy Altar, waiting for the rich mercies that are from Thee: send down upon us, O Lord, Thy rich grace and blessing; and sanctify our souls, bodies, and spirits, that we may become worthy partakers and communicants of Thy Holy mysteries: to the forgiveness of our sins and eternal life." (Neale, p. 57.)

Jacobite "St. James."

Deacon. The Holy and divine peace being given, let us bow down our heads before the merciful lord.

Congregation. Our Lord and our God, we bow down our heads before Thee.

Priest. Thou who alone art the merciful Lord, send thy blessings on them that bend their necks before Thy Holy Altar. O Thou that dwellest on high, yet regardest the things that are lowly, bless them through the grace, and mercies and love towards mankind of Christ Thine Only Son through Whom" etc. (Mar Ivanios, p. 11.)

"To the forgiveness of sins and eternal life" was evidently added by the Orthodox.

Jacobite "St. James":—"O Lord God, stretch forth Thy invisible right hand and bless this congregation of Thy worshippers, who receive Thy precious Body and Blood for the remission of debts and forgiveness of sins and for joy in Thy Presence." (Mar Ivanios, p. 28.)

This is not in the Orthodox liturgy of St. James, nor was it in the liturgy known to Bar Kepha and Bar Salib, nor is it in the liturgy of the Maronite Uniats who use the Jacobite liturgy, nor is it in the copy of the Jacobite liturgy translated by Etheridge. (Etheridge, p. 215.)

Orthodox "St. James":—"We give Thee thanks, Christ our God, that Thou hast vouchsafed to make us partakers of Thy Body and Blood, for the remission of sins and eternal life." (Neale, p. 62.)

There is no such prayer in the Jacobite Liturgy. It is, therefore, a subsequent addition.

Instead of this the Jacobite liturgy gives the following:—"May Thy Holy Body which we have eaten and Thy Sancti-

fyng Blood which we have drunk, be not for punishment and condemnation, but for life and salvation to us all." (Mar Ivanios, p. 29.)

This is not in the Orthodox liturgy, nor in the liturgy known to Bar Kepha and Bar Salib, nor in the liturgy of the Maronite Uniats, nor in Etheridge's copy of the Jacobite "St. James." (Etheridge, p. 215.)

Orthodox "St. James":—"That they may be to those that partake of them, for remission of sins, and for eternal life, for sanctification of souls and bodies, for bringing forth good works, for the confirmation of Thy Holy Catholic Church, which Thou hast founded upon the rock of faith, that the gates of hell may not prevail against it; freeing it from all heresy and scandals, and from them that work wickedness, and preserving it till the consummation of all things." (Neale, p. 52.)

Jacobite "St. James":—"That they may be to all who receive of them (*sic.* for) the hallowing of soul and body, for the bearing of the fruits of good works, for the confirmation of Thy holy Church which is founded on the rock of invincible faith, against which the gates of Hell cannot prevail. Deliver her unto the end from the stumbling-blocks of heresy." (Mar Ivanios, p. 15.)

Instead of "That they may be.....for the hallowing of soul and body" the Orthodox liturgy reads, "That they may be.....for remission of sins and for eternal life."

In the Jacobite liturgy of St. James there are several prayers which contain this idea; but none of them is found in the Orthodox "St. James." Further in the liturgy known to Bar Kepha and Bar Salib there was no prayer which says that the Lord's Supper is for the remission of sins. It is, therefore, evident that the idea of the holy Eucharist being propitiatory crept into the Liturgy of St. James only after the twelfth century.

CHAPTER XIII

INCENSE IN THE JACOBITE LITURGY

In the Anaphora of St. James printed in Travancore (No. 11) incense is offered twice.

Incense in the first place is offered a little before the Words of Institution. It is found only in the books printed

in Malabar, (Nos. 9, 10, 11, 16) and in five MSS. (Nos. 43, 56, 57, 103, 108) which are mere copies of the printed book No. 9. In the Chaldean MS. No. 72, it is written on the margin in Maronite characters evidently because the interpolator could not write in Chaldean characters. Maronite characters have been in general use in Malabar for the last 150 years, but Chaldean characters before 150 years. In the MSS. Nos. 76, and 41, it is written on the margin in a different hand. I have not seen any mention of incense in any copy except the above, though I have examined more than one hundred copies.

The second place, where incense is offered, is a little before the communion. I have found it in twenty-five copies. But there is no mention of incense in a vast majority of copies such as those of the late Patriarch Abdulla (No. 19), the late Mar Curilos Metropolitan (Nos. 21, 22), the late Mar Severios Metropolitan (No. 31), and the liturgy of the Syrian Uniats. (Nos. 12, 13.)

In the copy filed in the court by the late Joseph Mar Dionysius Metropolitan, (*In the Royal Court of final Appeal*, Vol. III, p. 101) and in the liturgy translated by the Most Rev. Mar Ivanios Metropolitan, there is no mention of incense in this place. According to the latter, incense must be offered a little before the Words of Institution. The Metropolitan has spared no pains to make his publication thoroughly accurate. If there were a rule that incense must be offered before the communion, he would not have omitted it. In MSS. Nos. 41, 98, and 117 it is written in another hand on the margin that incense must be offered.

Both the editions of the Syrian Uniats' liturgy (Nos. 12, 13) ignore incense in the places named above. They got their liturgy printed with the sanction of the Pope. They cannot during the mass do anything which is not enjoined by the approved liturgy.

Though there is no incense during the mass according to the MSS. of the Jacobite liturgy, Konattu Malpan in two places inserted rubrics to offer incense, when he published the Syriac liturgy. There are Jacobite divines who offer incense several times. "Incense must be burnt," so the late Mar Gregorius Metropolitan deposed before the court, "several times during the mass. As to the number of times, I can only say after perusing the book. Not less than about ten

times, incense must be burnt." (*In the Royal Court of Final Appeal*, Vol. I, p. 449.)

This Metropolitan was offering incense during the Mass about ten times. No copy of the liturgy, printed or written, says so. In MS. No. 33 which was copied from one of his MSS. incense during the Mass is mentioned once. The autograph MS. of his (No. 32) makes no mention of incense at all. Now we learn that the copies of the Jacobite liturgy are not uniform in this matter, and that the priests are not bound to follow the liturgy before them.

Now let us come to the Pro-anaphora.

"*Deacon.* Before the Lord who blesses, and before the Altar that absolves, and before the Divine and Heavenly Mysteries, and before this awe-inspiring holy Qurbana, incense is offered by this honourable Priest." (Mar Ivanios, p. 6.)

This is found in a few copies, but not even in the Syriac liturgy printed in Malabar. This is in the printed Diakonika. The exhortations of the deacon are fully given in the Diakonika and their initial words in the liturgy.

Since the initial words of this exhortation are not found in a vast majority of copies, including the four editions of the liturgy printed in Travancore, we are led to the conclusion that this is a very late accession.

Printed liturgy (No. 11) in this place has a rubric, "Here the incense is offered." This rubric, as well as the deacon's exhortation, is found in a few copies only. But in many of the copies the preceding prayer ends or the succeeding prayer begins with the word "with the fragrant incense." But no liturgy printed in Travancore has adopted these words in these prayers. In copies Nos. 1, 4, 41, 59, 61, 77, 97, 98, 102, 116, 119, 128, we do not find any mention of incense whatever in this place. There are copies in which it is impossible to give a place to any of these things. According to the printed copies (Nos. 9, 10, 11, 16) there is a rubric regarding incense, after the reading of the Gospel, promion, sedra and the deacon's proclamation about the offering of incense. Then comes the prayer "Thou therefore that pardonest and cleanseest" etc. and the blessing of incense. According to the copies Nos. 1 and 4, incense is blessed after the promion and sedra which follow the Gospel. "Thou therefore that pardonest and cleanseest" etc. is not given. So there is no place for an offering of incense and a proclamation about it before

the offering of incense for blessing. Further in the copy No. 102 there is no promion nor sedra after the Gospel; the blessing of the incense just follows the Gospel. The facsimiles of those pages are given *infra* pp. 183, 185.

According to the liturgy known to Moses Bar Kepha, and Dionysius Bar Salib, the censer was taken round the church at the beginning of the service, but there is no mention of incense during the service. During the days of Bar Salib the priest would make the sign of the cross on the censer; (p. 30) but there was no such practice during the days of Bar Kepha.

“So, by a curious confusion,” says Dr. Adrian Fortescue while speaking about the Jacobite Church, “there grew up the idea of an inherent connection between incense and forgiveness; the incense was looked upon as a kind of sin-offering, a sacrifice which atoned for sin.” (*The Lesser Eastern Churches*, p. 241)

That is why we find the following just before the blessing of the censer:—“May the pardon of the Son of God be vouchsafed on our souls, and on the souls of our fathers, and of our brethren, and of our masters, and of our teachers, and of our dead, and of all the faithful dead, children of the holy church, in both worlds, for ever and ever.” (Howard, p. 219)

“May the remission of debts and forgiveness of sins be vouchsafed by God on us, in both worlds for ever and ever.” (No. 11, p. 61)

Neither of these is found in a majority of copies including that of the late Patriarch Abdulla (No. 19).

CHAPTER XIV

THE ORDER OF BAPTISM

The order of Baptism, as well as the others have been undergoing changes just like the Order of Eucharist. The present Jacobite Order of Baptism was composed by Bar Hebraeus (A. D. 1226—1286). I have compared 50 copies of the Baptismal Rite with the recently printed Syriac Copy (No. II). Four of them (Nos. 9, 63, 103, 122) are mere copies of this, and therefore I leave them out of consideration. An old copy No. 132 too agrees with No. II. There are very many differences between copy No. II, and the other copies and between one another. In short the Baptismal Service

composed by Bar Hebraeus is enlarged more than double by gradual interpolations made by different persons at different periods.

I shall point out a few important interpolations.

I. There is in No. II a responsory after the Gospel :—
 “Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity. Hyssop cannot purge away the sin which I have committed nor can the symbolic water of the law ; but the sprinkling and purification of the heavenly washing and the riches of his abundant grace can.”

There is a very important difference in Peet's copy (No. 3 or 5). Instead of “nor can the symbolic water of the law,” Peet's copy reads, “nor can water which is used as a symbol.” (Hough, p. 647). After publishing the liturgy and other forms of service Peet concludes that they are far from evangelical teaching. His inclination, therefore, was to show that these forms are not evangelical. So he was not likely to lose sight of the word which means “of the law,” if it were in the MS. he translated. I did not find a copy like that of Peet.

When we examine this responsory carefully, we shall be led to the conclusion, that “of the law” is quite out of place here, and that it was unreasonably added here by somebody. It was, I dare say, done on the assumption that “the heavenly washing” was the same as baptism, which is obviously untenable. Baptism cannot wash away the sins of a hypocrite. “The heavenly washing,” therefore, is, no doubt, an internal one. Now the comparison is between the heavenly water and the earthly water used in the Old Testament or in the New. It is, therefore, evident that the epithet “of the law” is a later addition. Though Bar Hebraeus wrote that the washing of water cannot purify a man, a later Jacobite divine, who was not pleased with it, must have inserted the epithet “of the law.”

II. There is a difference in the prayer which is said when the hot water is mixed with the cold.

No. II. :—“O Lord God, mix in this water through our poor prayer, the power and operation of the Holy Spirit.”

I found this only in two MSS. (Nos. IX, 111) Let me quote the book published by the late Joseph Mar Dionysius Metropolitan (No. 8) :—



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“ O Lord God, mix these waters, through our poor prayer.”

This is what we find in the MS. of the Most. Rev. Augen Mar Timotheus Metropolitan (No. 29) and in almost all copies I examined. It is therefore more than evident that the mixing of the power and operation of the Holy Spirit in water is a late accession, an accession so late that it had not time enough to acquire considerable vogue.

When the idea, that it is possible to get Christ in the Eucharistic bread, and that the eating thereof will secure us many an inexplicable benefit, came into vogue, naturally this idea, that it is possible to mix the power and operation of the Holy Spirit in water, and that the washing therewith will secure us untold benefits, came into vogue too.

So the Jacobite divines added in their Form of Baptism everything they added in the Order of Eucharist. I shall quote them below.

I propose to take up for discussion five more points. Instead of quoting them one by one I quote the whole so that the readers may have a clear idea of the connection between them.

The Order of Baptisin, No. II:—

“*People.* Have mercy upon us, O God the Father Almighty.

“ *Priest.* We also, O my Lord, thy weak and sinful servants, having received thy goodness, give thanks to thy benignity for all, and on account of all.

“ *Deacon.* My beloved, how fearful is this moment and how dreadful is this time, when the living and Holy Spirit descends from the heights of heaven and dwells upon this water in the pond that is placed here and sanctifies it. Stand ye in silence and pray.

“ *People.* May we all have peace and may we all have good will.

"*Priest.* (inclining invokes the Holy Ghost and waves his hand signifying the descent of the Holy Ghost.) Have

mercy upon us, O God the Father Almighty. From thy excellent abode and from thy infinite bosom, send down upon us and upon this water which is being sanctified thy Holy Spirit who is hypostatic, the most high, who is the Lord, the giver of life, who spake in the law and the prophets, and the apostles, who is everywhere, who filleth all places and working sanctification on those who have done thy good will, not ministerially but authoritatively, simple in his nature, manifold in his operations, the fountain of the graces of God, who is of one substance with thee, who proceedeth from thee, who is taken from thy Son, sharer of the throne of thy kingdom, with thy Only Son, Our Lord, our God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ.

“*The priest raising his voice*, Hear me, O Lord; hear me, O Lord, and spare and have mercy upon me.

“*People*. Kurillison, Kurillison, Kurillison.

“*Priest. (raising his voice)* O Lord God Almighty, make this water the water of comfort, water of joy and gladness, water which represents the death and resurrection of thy Only-begotten, water of cleansing, water which removes the filth of the flesh and spirit, loosens bands, gives remission of sins and light to the spirits and bodies. Make this the washing of regeneration, the gift of adoption, the garment of immortality, the renewing of the Holy Spirit.”

Let us take these items one by one. The first prayer quoted above is only a part of what is given in the Eucharistic liturgy; the whole is given in the consecration of *muron* (Consecration of *muron*, p. 30). The second prayer is the exact copy of the Jacobite “St. James.” (Vide *supra*, pp. 46, 47). But these are not important.

III. The deacon’s exclamation is not in the printed book, No. 9, and the MSS., Nos. 41 and 51, and therefore this is a later accretion just like the similar exclamations in the Order of Eucharist, and in the Form of consecrating the *muron*.

IV. Take the first part of the Epiklesis. Of the fifty copies I examined, the form given in No. II quoted above is found in three other copies only. The MS. of the Most Rev. Augen Mar Timotheus Metropolitan (No. 29) and almost all copies give the following one, which we find in the book (No. 8) published by the late Joseph Mar Dionysius Metropolitan. (Vide facsimiles *infra* pp. 189—193.)

“ O Lord appear on this water and sanctify it by the influence of thy Holy Spirit, and grant that these persons to be baptized therein may be transformed and may put off the old man ruined through the lust of error, and put on the new man which is renewed after the image of him that created him.”

Neither this nor the former was composed by Bar Hebraeus. For in the MS. No. 51 there is neither. (Vide the facsimiles of the two pages of this book. *Infra* pp. 197, 199.) If either of the above Invocations were composed by Bar Hebraeus, nobody would have removed it; because the Jacobite Church was growing more and more in favour of invoking the Holy Spirit upon bread, wine and water. Since we have found a MS. which does not contain this, we are led to think that this is a later addition.

Some divine, who deemed it necessary to have an Epiklesis in the Order of Baptism as in the Order of Eucharist, must have inserted the latter Invocation.

This Epiklesis prays for the candidates for baptism, while praying for the water. This seemed quite unsatisfactory to a later divine, who removed the prayer for the candidates, and enlarged the Invocation on the water as in No. II. It seems that his opinion was that the prayer for the candidates was quite unnecessary, and that a great change would be wrought on the water by the priest's prayer, and that the washing with such a water would secure everything for the baptized.

This is the view, it seems, of the present authorities of the Jacobite Church in Malabar. For the Form they have published (No. II) is one without any prayer for the candidates.

I must warn the readers that I should not be taken to mean that the Invocation of the Holy Ghost over the water of Baptism was a thing unheard of during the days of Bar Hebraeus. One has no mind to commit oneself to any position other than that, in all probability, it was not in the Baptismal Rite composed by Bar Hebraeus.

V. The next point for consideration is “ Hear me O Lord.” I have found this in fourteen copies (Nos. III, XI, 41, 44, 54, 66, 71, 77, 88, 91, 104, 111, 123, 132.) As this is not found in a vast majority of copies such as those of the late Joseph Mar Dionysius Metropolitan (No. 8), and the Most

Rev. Augen Mar Timothius Metropolitan (No. 29), we come to the conclusion that this innovation has not yet secured wide currency.

VI. Now the prayer to effect a change in the water. Comparing the prayer quoted above with that of the late Mar Dionysius Metropolitan's book (No. 8) we do not find the following in the latter, "water of cleansing," "of the flesh and spirit," "light to the spirits and bodies," "washing of regeneration."

No. 51 and some others do not contain "the renewing of the Holy Spirit" too. (*Infra* p. 199.)

It is overwhelmingly evident that, as days go on, individual divines, of their own accord, are making in the Form of Baptism additions which ascribe power and glory to the water from more to more.

VII. I now come to the last point. The priest exorcises the evil spirits from the water to be used for baptism.

The Syriac book recently printed (No. II):—"May the head of the great serpent, which destroys mankind, be bruised, O Lord, under the sign of thy cross. May the invisible spirits belonging to the air thereby flee. We pray thee, O Lord, that the evil spirit of darkness may not hide himself in this water, and that the evil spirit of darkness may not descend with this man, who is baptized, and agitate his mind with evil thoughts."

I have not seen this in any other copy. The following is substantially what we find in all other copies.

The late Joseph Mar Dionysius Metropolitan's copy (No. 8) reads:—

"May the head of the invisible serpent, which destroys mankind, be bruised. May the invisible shadows fly away from these waters. I beseech thee, O Lord God, that the wicked and unclean spirit may not descend along with these who are to receive baptism, that they may be worthy to receive thy divine gifts." (see facsimile *Supra*, p. 189).

The view that the invisible devil will hide himself in the transparent water, and that some exorcisms are necessary to drive him out of it, is found in the recently printed Syriac book (No. II) only. Will anybody contend that this was composed by Bar Hebraeus? If so how is it that this disappeared from almost all copies of his book?

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Individual Jacobite divines, of their own accord, made corrections and additions in the Order of Baptism composed by Bar Hebraeus, the greatest scholar the Jacobite Church has ever produced. I have only pointed out a few important items, though there are several others.

CHAPTER XV.

GROWTH OF LITURGIES.

During the earlier centuries there were only extempore prayers, but by the 4th century prayers were written down and liturgies gradually came into existence. It was not the practice of the Church to sanction and fix the prayers. Presbyters, as well as bishops, were at liberty to change, suppress, and add according to their own views. It was in 1570 that this freedom of the clergy was taken away in the Roman Church by Pope Pius V, while in the Jacobite Church there is no record to show that this freedom was ever removed or even curtailed. That is the case, most probably, with the other Eastern churches as well. From the foregoing chapters the direction in which liturgies were moving is quite patent, and it was in the direction of ascribing more and more importance to the sacramental elements at the expense of that of personal Christian life. Let me recapitulate some of the points discussed already.

(1) In accordance with the apostolic practice the consecrated bread of the Eucharist, in the early centuries, was called simply bread, and the vestige of that practice is still found in the Coptic liturgy of St. Mark, Armenian liturgy, and the liturgies of Theodore and Nestore. Nevertheless some divine could not tolerate the words "when ye eat this bread" of the Bible text, 1 Cor. XI. 25, 26 which is quoted in the Jacobite "St. James" just as in many other liturgies, and he had no scruple whatever to put his pen through that text and make it "when ye communicate in this mystery;" and strange to say this correction is now accepted by the authorities of the Jacobite Church in Malabar. (*Ante*, pp. 123—126).

(2) In the *editio princeps* (No. 8) and in almost all other copies of the Baptismal Rite it is prayed, when hot water is mixed with the cold, "Mix these waters, through our poor prayer." Some divine made it "Mix in this water through

our poor prayer, the power and operation of the Holy Spirit," and it is accepted by the authorities of the Jacobite Church in Malabar. (*Supra*, pp. 182, 187).

(3) In the *editio princeps* and in almost all other copies of the Baptismal Rite we read :—" O Lord appear on this water and sanctify it by the influence of thy Holy Spirit, and *grant that these persons to be baptized therein may be transformed and may put off the old man ruined through the lust of error and put on the new man which is renewed after the image of him that created him.*"

On the growth and ascendancy of the importance of the sacramental elements it was deemed that any prayer for the candidates was quite useless, and consequently some divine struck off the above prayer for the candidates without leaving any trace whatever, and substituted a prayer for the water, and that is now the *textus receptus* in Malabar. (*Supra*, p. 195.)

(4) The deacon's exclamation before the Epiklesis, during the days of Bar Kepha and Bar Salib, 10th and 12th centuries, was an invitation to the people for the indwelling of the Holy Ghost, not an intimation that the Holy Spirit was coming upon the elements. Now it is :—" My beloved, how fearful is this moment and how dreadful is this time when the living and Holy Spirit descends from the heights of heaven and dwells upon this holy offering and sanctifies it." In the Baptismal Service too this same exclamation is added, " this water in the pond that is placed here " being substituted for " this holy offering."

(5) It is abundantly proved that the Epiklesis originally was for the illapse of the Holy Ghost upon worshippers ; but now it is converted into one upon the elements. Even now there is a vestige of the primitive prayer left in the majority of copies of the Jacobite " St. James." It is prayed that he may be sent " upon us " also, though not to do anything on us, when he is sent to work wonders on the elements ; and so the words " upon us " is still found in many copies. Some divine could not tolerate even this harmless residue, because he could not find any necessity even for the mere Invocation of the Holy Spirit on worshippers, though there is no special request for them, and consequently he struck it off and freed the liturgy from any trace of an Invocation of the Holy Ghost on the people. It was this that found favour with the

authorities of the Jacobite Church in Malabar when they published the liturgy. (*Supra*, pp. 157, 158.)

The churches of the middle ages, which were growing more and more materialistic, began to ignore the importance of the indwelling presence of God in the people, and thinking it was in the elements that his presence and operation were wanted, ascribed more importance to the latter. So the prayer for the Holy Ghost to come upon worshippers and to work changes in them was turned into one for the Holy Ghost to come upon the bread and wine and work changes in them. It is the importance of the moment, "when the living and Holy Spirit descends from the heights of heaven and dwells upon" the bread and wine and sanctifies them, that the Jacobite deacon in the Eucharistic Service exclaims. And also in the Baptismal Service it is the importance of no other moment than that of the Holy Spirit's illapse upon the water that he proclaims loudly. Jacobites seem to be quite unaware of any moment, when the living and Holy Spirit descends from the heights of heaven and dwells upon the communicants and upon those who are baptized, and sanctifies them, and they are not at all aware of any importance of such an experience.

(6) We have shown in the VIIIth chapter that "Didache" and St. Justin, both of the second century, "Apostolic Constitutions", third or fourth century, Tertullian, second, and third centuries, "The Testament of our Lord" (C. 400 A. D.), Pope Gregory the Great, sixth and seventh centuries, and the view of the Roman Church give us to understand that the primitive practice was to perform the Eucharistic Service without any prayer for the elements, and that the early Eastern Christendom, even after its adoption of the prayer for the elements, did not consider it essential for a valid Eucharist. But thanks to the materialistic tendency which was stealing into the Church, the consecrating formula underwent change after change, till it became a prayer that the Holy Ghost may descend from the heights of heaven upon the elements and work wonders on them. (*Supra*, pp. 127—148).

The direction, in which liturgies were moving for several centuries past, we have already found, was to ignore the importance of the prayers that the people might have the indwelling presence of God and the consequent Christian life, true and earnest, and to let such prayers drop out and be replaced by

the prayers for the elements. They are still moving in the same direction, and have reached a pitiable condition. For instance take the Jacobite "St. James" together with the Pro-anaphora and the Concluding Service. Almost all prayers for a real Christian life are struck off. There is no prayer that the heart may be illumined in order to have a vision of the loving God, nor one for the love of God, nor for the indwelling presence of God in us, nor for our abiding in God, nor for the spiritual participation of Christ. There are a very few prayers for a spiritual life still left in this liturgy, and I shall quote them *in toto*.

Fortunately the prayers before the lection have not yet been struck off. "Grant to us that we may keep thy commandments and those of thy divine apostles and of Paul." "Grant us, O Lord God, the knowledge of thy divine words, and fill us with the understanding of thine holy Gospel and the riches of thy divine gifts of thine Holy Spirit. Grant to us that with joy we may keep entirely thy commandments and fulfil thy will."

Prayers in the Anaphora :—

"Bestow upon her the gift of thy Holy Spirit." "Keep us in the observance of thy holy commandments." "That they may be exercised in virtue."

Prayer in the Concluding Service :— "May we be partakers of thy Holy Spirit."

The prayers for a Christian life form only half per cent of the liturgy. There is a good prayer in the Jacobite liturgy ; but it is put down as a private prayer of the priest, to be prayed before the beginning of the service. That is quoted below :—

"I pray that Thou wouldest preserve my mind from all the operations of the adversary ; mine eyes, that they look not wantonly ; mine ears, that they hear not vanity ; my hands from deeds of hatefulness ; and my reins, that they may be moved by Thee : that so I may be wholly Thine."

There are ever so many prayers, selfish prayers, for the remission of sins, and for deliverance "from the unquenchable fire, from the worm that never dieth, from severe punishments, from bitter weeping, and from endless gnashing of teeth," and for inheritance in the Kingdom of God.

Let us compare a primitive prayer with a later one. The following is shown to be a modern prayer. (*Supra*, pp. 110—114).

Jacobite "St. James":—"Taking the Qurbana..... he says: thee I hold, who holdest the extremities of the universe; thee I grasp, who rulest the depths; thee who art God I put into my mouth; by thee may I be delivered from the unquenchable fire, and be made meet for the remission of sins, like the sinful woman and the thief."

The following is proved to be a primitive prayer (*Supra*, pp. 111, 112).

Jacobite "St. Mark":—"A prayer which the priest says alone when he would receive of the holy mysteries. And he says Amen and prays on this wise saying 'Allholy and consubstantial and undivided and unspeakable Trinity, grant me to receive this holy bread unto life and not unto condemnation and grant me to bring forth fruit wellpleasing unto thee, that evidently pleasing thee I may live in thee doing thy commandments, calling upon thee, Father, making bold and invoking thy kingdom and thy will: and hallowed also be thy name in me.'"

The position assigned to the consecrated bread in the former is quite unparalleled, whereas in the latter it is called simply "holy bread."

As for the spiritual life the former ignores it altogether and prays for deliverance "from the unquenchable fire" and for remission of sins, quite selfish; while in the latter we have an excellent prayer for a spiritual life, for fruits wellpleasing unto God and for a life in Him.

These are the differences between primitive prayers and the later ones, and this is the direction in which liturgies are moving.

(The Most Rev. Augen Mar Timotheus Metropolitan)*

The Invocation of the Holy Ghost :—

[illegible]

“ Have mercy upon us, O God the Father, and send upon these offerings thy Holy Spirit, the Lord equal to thee and to the Son in the throne and kingdom and essence eternal ; who spake in thy Old and New Testaments ; and descended like a dove upon our Lord Jesus Christ in the river Jordan, and like tongues of fire upon the Apostles in the upper room.”

The priest invokes the Holy Spirit to dwell in the bread and wine through his ministry. They become the body and blood only when the above prayer is recited and the priest performs the priestly function pertaining to it.

* The Bishop of the Kandanad Diocese of the Jacobite Syrian Church of Malabar and an eminent scholar in Syriac.

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"Hear me, O ! Lord (thrice) and spare and have mercy upon me by the Holy Spirit's abiding and making this bread the lifemaking body, the saving body, the body of Christ Our God, and this cup the blood of the New Testament, the saving blood, the blood of Christ our God."

It is quite evident from this prayer in the liturgy that it is at this moment that the elements become the body and blood of Christ. Let me, in support of this position, quote the evidence of three holy Fathers.

Mar Severios Moses :—

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"By the Recital of Institution we enter into the beginning of the Lord's living sacrifice; but the bread becomes the body of our Lord and the wine the blood of our Lord at the prayer following the Invocation of the Holy Ghost and the priestly function."

Mar John Tevologos :—

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“The bread becomes the body of the Lord Jesus and the wine his blood, when the priest blesses the elements reciting the Invocation of the Holy Ghost.”

Mar Irenaeus Bishop of Smyrna :—

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“We offer as a sacrifice the bread and cup which we have blessed. We invoke the Holy Spirit that he may make the bread in this sacrifice by his abiding on it the body of our Lord, and the wine the blood so that the communicants may obtain remission of sins and eternal life.”

ADDENDA

Authorities Cited (*Cont.*)

16. The last edition of No. 10 containing eighteen anaphoras. Mar Julius Press, Pampakuda, 1931.
- 17.

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Diakonika printed in the Press of the Jacobite Convent of St. Mark, Jerusalem, 1929. It is published in accordance with the order of the Patriarch.

Syriac Manuscripts

129. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Vattakkunnel Kurien Cathanar, Kottayam. It contains thirty anaphoras.
130. The Liturgy of the late Kalarickal Scaria Cathanar, Trippunithura. This is now in the possession of his nephews.
131. Another, do. Chaldean script.
132. Another, do. do. With the Order of Baptism.
133. Another, do. do.
134. The Liturgy belonging to the parish of Chempil, near Vaikam. With the Form of Baptism.
135. The Liturgy belonging to the Rev. Mankuliyil Thomas Cathanar, Karuvatta. This contains twenty-four anaphoras.

Chapter II p. 37. "By the prayers of thy mother and of all thy saints" is not in the liturgy (No. 13) of Moran Mar Ignatius the Uniat Syrian Patriarch of Antioch.

5. Mar Eustathius.
6. Mar Julios Bishop of Rome.
7. Mar Xystus Patriarch of Rome.
8. St. Peter the Apostle.
9. The twelve Apostles.
10. Mar Isaac.
11. Mar Abraham.
12. Mar Lazarus.
13. Patriarch Peter.
14. Mar Cyril the Great.
15. Mar Ignatius Nuroño.
16. St. Mark the Evangelist.
17. Mar Thoma.

These are published in No. 16.

18. St. Simon Kepha.
19. Mar Dionysius of Athens.
20. Mar Philoxenus.
21. Mar Michael.
22. Patriarch John son of Susan.
23. Patriarch John.
24. Mar Ivanios II.
25. Moses Bar Kepha.
26. Jacob of Edessa.
27. Jacob Malpan.
28. Mar Cyril the Rish Episcopa.
29. Mar Morusa the Catholicos of the East.
30. Ignatius Ibn Wahib.
The following additional list is found in Brightman
(pp. LVIII—LXII).
31. St. Basil.
32. St. Celestine.
33. St. John Chrysostom.
34. John of Harran.
35. John Maro.
36. Marutha of Tagrith.

37. St. Peter III.
38. Roman Church.
39. Yeshu Bar Shushan.
[The original texts of these nine are printed.]
40. Clement of Rome.
41. Dioscorus of Alexandria.
42. Dioscorus of Kardu.
43. The Doctors.
44. Gregory Barhebraeus.
45. St. Gregory Nazianz.
46. James Burdeana.
47. James of Serugh.
48. John of Bostra.
49. John Bar Madani.
50. John the Scribe.
51. Philoxenus II.
52. Severus or Timothy of Alexandria.
[These thirteen are published in translation.]
53. St. Athanasius.
54. Cyriac Patriarch.
55. Dionysius Bar Salib II.
56. Dionysius Bar Salib III.
57. Gregory Barhebraeus II.
58. Ignatius Behanani.
59. John I of the Sedros.
60. Lazarus Bar Sabhetha II or St. Eustathius II
61. St. Luke II.
62. Peter of Kallinikus.
63. Theodore Bar Wahbon.
[These eleven are found in European Libraries.]
64. Bar Kainaya.
65. David Bar Paul.
66. St. Gregory Nyssen.
67. John of Dara.
68. John of Lechphed.

- 69. John Sabha.
- 70. Michael the Younger.
- 71. Moses Bar Kepha II.
- 72. Severus of Kenneshre.
- 73. Timothy of Alexandria II.

These ten are mentioned, but are otherwise unknown. Almost all of the names are only pseudonyms. There is no gainsaying the fact that Clement, Xystus, Julius, and Celestine, Bishops of Rome and "the Roman Church" did not write in Syriac anaphoras after the pattern of the Jacobite "St. James."



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